The Forum.

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DANGERS TO THE PEACE OF EUROPE.

EUROPE is again in a state, not of wars, but of rumors of wars. The difference is well marked, and the state of rumors of wars has its own special evils. In a state of war, kingdoms and commonwealths, and those who make up kingdoms and commonwealths, know where they are. They know what is openly going on, and they can shape their course accordingly. In a state of rumors of wars, no state, no man, knows how to shape his course. Something is going on; but he knows not what. There is one tale afloat one day, and another the next. Two sovereigns meet; they are closeted together; they go about together; they show themselves in one another's clothes. So much love to another must imply hatred to somebody else: there is at once a rumor of war. One of the fleets that air themselves in all waters goes to a foreign port. It is well received there; the good reception can only mean enmity to somebody else: so there is another rumor of war. The queer diplomatic jargon which the newspapers think fine is poured out like a flood. English fails to describe the state of things, and of course it is much grander to eke it out with French. So there is a *rapprochement* here, and there are *pourparlers* there; here is a "tension," there a "complication;" or, if things do not get quite so far as that, there is at least a "question" and a "situation," and somebody goes into an "attitude." Then all the "circles" go round, round, round. The Special Correspondent lets us know his own importance, and his familiarity with the highest personages, by telling us what is said in "military circles," in "diplomatic circles," in "high Turkish circles." If he cannot reach to any

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of these, he can at least talk more vaguely about those "well-informed circles," which always seem to be made up of people who cannot see an inch in front of their noses. A "*semi*-official" paper says a thing: a paper which is not only almost but altogether "official" contradicts it. Both stories cannot be true; but both may be false: perhaps the contradictory statement is, after all, only "premature." And so the thing goes on; rumor comes on rumor; something is going to be done, but what the something is we shall not know till it is done. Now and then, indeed, a specially "well-informed" newspaper or diplomatist blurts out a definite prediction. Then we know somewhat better where we are: we have at least negative light. We have found out by long experience, that, when the specially wise man distinctly foretells the future, we do not know how things will happen, but we at least know one way in which they will not happen.

It is hardly needful to say that the matters discussed in the "well-informed circles" and in the "circles" higher still—the great matters about which the Special Correspondent reports his glimpses with bated breath—mostly concern the doings and purposes of very high personages indeed, of crowned heads, in short, and those very near to crowned heads. To be sure, France is an exception: there are no crowned heads there. A President or a Prime Minister may have a *rapprochement* or a "complication" even with a crowned head; but it is something that two republics cannot meet at a review, and "exchange uniforms." In one European land, indeed, even on the soil of one great power, the blindest retailer of courtly and diplomatic gossip cannot help looking outside those "well-informed circles" among which he commonly walks. The commonwealth of Switzerland is doubtless beneath the notice of any well-trained correspondent; but the commonwealth of France is a fact to which he cannot shut his eyes. When, therefore, France, its doings actual or possible, comes on the scene, the rumors sometimes take the form of the open shoutings of mobs, instead of the whispered *pourparlers* of the wise men in their secret chambers. There is a *rapprochement* between France and Russia. What the diplomatists of the two nations may be saying to one another, plain people will not presume to guess. But the French nation at large has spoken its mind in a way which the most courtly correspondent cannot help taking notice of. But, whenever it is possible, the minds of the spreaders of rumors love to dwell on the doings and the thoughts of the highest personages about whom they can find any thing to say. The thoughts of the nations—thoughts which,

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after all, do sometimes rise into doings—are beneath their heed. Above all, when the head of the German Empire and the head of the House of Austria show themselves in one another's clothes on Bohemian soil, it would be uncourtly indeed to ask how so remarkable a spectacle looks in the eyes of the people of Bohemia.

Let us look at the present state of Europe. There are six "great powers" which, without any commission from the others, without any right but that of physical strength, take upon themselves to decide all matters for Europe in general. They call themselves "Europe." Their will is the "will of Europe:" what they order is the "mandate of Europe." Of course it is the doings of these six powers which form the great subject of rumor. Now, as things stand at this moment, nothing is more certain than that, for a good many years past, no one of those six powers, acting openly as a power, has given any of the other five any plausible ground for war. None of them has attacked the territories of any other: none can be fairly charged with having broken any treaty towards any other. There have been questions and even quarrels in various distant parts of the world. At this moment there is not perfect agreement in Africa, there is not perfect agreement in Newfoundland; but, since the peace between France and Germany, no great power has done any other great power any clear wrong in its European territories. I speak only of the dealings of great powers towards great powers: of the dealings of great powers towards small ones, one might not be able to say quite so much. It is one result of a system of great powers, that each is likely to stand on its good behavior towards all the others. And this tendency undoubtedly works for peace, though it may sometimes work for peace at the cost of things which are more precious than peace; for this good understanding between the great powers as powers is not inconsistent with the doing of a good deal of wrong, either to smaller powers or even to the subjects of the great powers themselves. Peace among the powers may be kept only by crushing the hopes of nations and by refusing them their lawful rights. To powers as powers the rights and the wishes of nations are too often something only to be trampled under foot, or turned to the advantage of the powers, as may happen to be convenient. At this moment, if war should break out in Europe, it is likely to arise in one of two ways. Some specially foolish and perverse conduct on the part of some one of the powers as powers may give some other power an excuse for war. Or some of the deeper forces that are at work among the nations may

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either constrain the powers to act against their will, or may give them an excuse for acting according to their will, if that will should be in the direction of war.

The chief mischief of the state of rumors of wars, as distinguished from the state of actual war, is that it accustoms men to the thought of possible war at any moment, whether there is any real ground, or even any plausible ground, for war or not. This is something quite different from those reasonable precautions against possible accidents which it is always wise for any power or nation to take. A wise power or nation will take such precautions in the quietest way possible: it will avoid all needless flaunting of them in the eyes of its neighbors. What I mean is the constant discussion in the newspapers of the chances of war. This has now gone on for years: it may be almost taken for granted in every newspaper we open. We get so used to it as hardly to notice it from day to day; but it certainly does mischief. War is of course spoken of with horror, as a thing which must be kept off as long as possible; but it is spoken of as a thing all but present. It is not spoken of as a thing which may come at any moment through some as yet unknown cause, but as a thing which must come sooner or later out of causes which are at this moment at work, and which is simply staved off from day to day by this or that momentary shift. The rumors shift backwards and forwards. One day war will soon break out, because such a power has moved troops near to the frontier of such another power. The next day the war must have been put off, because the prince who seemed to threaten is going on a friendly visit to the prince who seems to be threatened. A few days later the war has got near again, because something was done or left undone at this royal meeting which gives it a less friendly look than some other royal meeting. And so the thing goes on, accustoming men's minds to the thought of war, and leading them to look on it as something depending wholly on the fancies and caprices of princes and diplomatists. And the worst of it is, that this way of looking at things is so very largely a true one. There are several persons in Europe any one of whom could kindle the flame of war in a moment, with reason or without reason. The worst of the system of rumors is, that it teaches men to think too much of this side of things, and to think of it the wrong way. It teaches men to forget the real causes which make war possible at any time, and to dwell only on the occasions which may cause it to break out at this or that moment. In short, it teaches men to forget the nations, and to think only of the rulers of the nations.

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At this moment there are real causes at work at the two ends of Europe, which make war possible at any time. In Eastern Europe there are many such causes, arising out of the condition of the nations of Eastern Europe. They are causes out of which despots and diplomatists easily make occasion for mischief, and may at any moment easily make occasion for war. And they are causes which are easily neglected or misunderstood, and which, in "well-informed circles," it is thought fine to neglect or to misunderstand. A "high Turkish circle," a "high Austrian circle," doubtless neither neglects nor misunderstands, but it finds it convenient to act as if it did. And of course it would not do for a newspaper correspondent to understand or to take heed to the things which are pooh-poohed in such high quarters. But in Western Europe there is an abiding source of danger, one cause which makes war possible, which is so clear to the eyes of all men, that no "circle," however "well informed," can possibly neglect or misunderstand it. This is the temper of France towards Germany, the temper of "France" in the strictest sense; for it is the feeling of the nation, shared by every man in the nation. It is the feeling alike of the statesman and of the ordinary elector. It does not follow that every Frenchman is eager to go to war with Germany to-day or to-morrow; but assuredly every Frenchman longs to win back the lands which were recovered by Germany in 1871, and every Frenchman is ready to go to war with Germany for that end at any favorable moment. It is vain to argue as to the wisdom of the course taken by Germany in calling for the cession of those lands. Certain as that cession was to call forth the abiding enmity of the French nation, the leader of Germany enforced it in obedience to the irresistible demand of the German nation. And we may be sure that the German nation is still as fully minded to keep the ceded parts of Elsass and Lorraine as the French nation is minded to win them back again. Here, then, is a deadly opposition of interests and wishes, not merely between two powers, but between two of the foremost nations of Europe. France—not merely the rulers of France, but France herself—may at any moment seek for war. Germany—not merely the rulers of Germany, but Germany herself—is not in the least likely to seek for war on this score; but she is certain not to shrink from it if it is forced upon her.

Compared with the abiding opposition between Germany and France, the growing ill feeling between France and Italy is in itself of less importance; but it has been of the highest importance in its con-

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sequences. France and Germany might once more, as they did in 1870–71, fight out their quarrel single-handed. Italy single-handed would have a poor chance against France. Hence we may say, that while France and Germany, though they may be better pleased to have allies, might both do without allies, Italy is driven to seek for alliances. And one ally of a very strange kind she has sought and won. Every one has heard of the "League of Peace" between what a correspondent would glibly call Italy, Germany, and Austria; that is to say, in the language of facts, there is an alliance between the nations of Germany and Italy and the anti-national power of the House of Austria. To those whose memories go back even as far as 1866, that alliance must seem very strange indeed. Between Germany and Italy, alliance is perfectly natural. Neither has any interests contrary to the interests of the other. The two have in France a common enemy or possible enemy. If Germany and Italy had an ancient grudge of a thousand years' standing, the representative of that grudge on the German side is not now to be sought for at Berlin. Lastly, if there be such a thing as national gratitude, Italy owes a good share of it to Germany; and Germany may even owe some to Italy, on the strength of the events of 1866, and indirectly on the strength of the events of 1870. But the close alliance between Germany and the House of Austria is certainly strange, and the alliance between Italy and that House is yet more strange. But the whole position of the House of Habsburg among its neighbors and subjects is full of the strangest contradictions. That House, cast out by Germans and Hungarians, was brought back to its many thrones by the arms of its Slave and Rouman subjects. Its chief now agrees very well with those who cast him out: it is those who brought him back who now complain of him. But he was brought back, not only by the help of Slaves and Roumans within his dominions, but by the help of his great Slavonic neighbor. If he reigns by the grace of Jellachich of Croatia, he reigns yet more by the grace of Nicolas of Russia. By the arms of Prussia he was beaten; by the policy of Prussia he was spared; and to the arms by which he was beaten Italy gave at least the help of an important diversion. Yet now Italy and Prussia grown into Germany are his nearest friends; Russia, to whose former friendship he owes all his crowns, is, if not the openly hostile at least the suspected neighbor. Specially wonderful is it to see the friendly union of Italy with the power which so lately was a by-word in every Italian mouth. It does not seem so many years since Francis Joseph

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of Lorraine was scourged out of Milan and Venice amid the applause of a rejoicing world. Some of us had trusted to see him scourged in the like sort out of Trent and Aquileia; and lo! the master of Trent and Aquileia suddenly becomes the cherished friend of the power by whom Milan and Venice have been won back. This, indeed, is a strange sight. The hearts of kings, we know, are inscrutable; but such an alliance as this suggests the thought of a secret bargain. Is the Austrian some day to set free the Italian lands which he still holds in bondage, and is he for his reward to be abetted by free Italy in bringing some people east of Hadria into bondage? This way of dealing with the lives and liberties of human beings is in delicate diplomatic language spoken of as "compensation."

Anyhow there is the fact. Germany, Italy, and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy are joined together in a strict alliance. Whatever the real objects of that alliance may be, it goes by the name of a "League of Peace." And a league of peace in one sense it is. France is less likely to attack the whole alliance than she would be to attack either Germany or Italy separately. And as the League looks eastwards as well as westwards, in certain aspects indeed much more eastwards than westwards, what is said of France on one side may be said of Russia on the other. A direct attack of Russia, either on Germany or on the House of Austria, is in itself a most unlikely thing; but Russia is not at all unlikely to do things which may not be at all to the interest of either power, and even to do things which may be offensive to the better instincts of the German people. So far as this, on both sides, east and west, the League of Peace may be allowed to deserve its name. And we may add that Austrian policy is never by choice a policy of open war. It better suits the abiding purposes of the House to make profit out of the strifes of its neighbors. Not many years back, the Russian, the Turk, and the revolted subjects of the Turk, were all fighting manfully. The House of Austria did not fight at all; but its chief knew how to put out his hand at the right moment, and to pull away a good piece of the prize from all of them.

One may stop to ask one question to which the answer must be sought in past history. Why, on the western side, are France and Germany traditional enemies? Why, on the eastern side, is Russia supposed to be in some way threatening to both her great neighbors? Perhaps in each case, because the rival powers are neighbors. And how came they to be neighbors? Because in each case the barrier

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state which stood between them has vanished. Between France and Germany, between France and Italy, once stood the barrier state of the West,—the Middle Kingdom, call it Burgundy, or Lorraine, or whatever other name we please,—the state of which a feeble but not uninstructive survival is left in the guaranteed neutrality of the Belgian kingdom and the Swiss confederation. Between Russia, Prussia, and what geography requires us to call Hungary, once stood the barrier state of the East,—the kingdom or republic of Poland. Burgundy has passed away for some ages, by no one deliberate act, but by a long series of causes. But, because it has passed away, France and Germany, France and Italy, can at any moment fly at each other's throats. But Poland has passed away in quite modern times by the deliberate act of the three powers which it once went far to keep away from one another. Truly they have their reward for a crime which went against the conscience even of a Queen and Empress of the House of Habsburg.

Given, then, the so-called "League of Peace," with France as a jealous and suspected power on one side, with Russia as a jealous and suspected power on the other side, it follows as a natural consequence that France and Russia should look to one another as possible helpers in time of need. How far the two governments may be bound to one another, plain people will do better not to guess; what the general feeling between the two nations is, late events have shown plainly enough. France and Russia are friendly nations, whether they are bound or not by treaties to this or that course of action. And when we begin to look as far as Russia, we must look a little farther. We have now fairly made our way into the lands of South-eastern Europe. There we see the regenerate nations which the happiest events of the still present century have set free from Turkish bondage. The problem there is for the liberated states—Greece, Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and heroic Montenegro where no liberator was needed—to keep their freedom, to keep peace with one another, and to set free the lands which the Turk still holds in bondage. The "Turkey" of diplomatists and map-makers means, not the land of the Turk, but those lands—Greek, Bulgarian, Servian, and Albanian—in which their enemy the Turk is still encamped. On no spot of Europe, on no spot of the coast of Asia, is the Turk really at home. He is everywhere a foreign intruder, a burglar who has thrust himself into the houses of other men. While other conquests have in time changed into lawful possessions, either by the conquerors assimilating the con-

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quered, or the conquered assimilating the conquerors, the Turk remains as much a stranger in Europe as he was when he first came in, more than five hundred years back. And so it must ever be as long as the Turk remains a Turk; for no Mahometan ruler can, without casting aside the precepts of his own law, become what a ruler is bound to be towards the subjects of other religions. It is his first duty as a Mahometan to keep men of all other creeds—the Christian in Europe, the Fire-Worshipper in Persia, the Hindoo in India—in bondage to the men of the dominant faith. He therefore cannot reform. Promises of reform made by the Turk are in their own nature worthless. They are nowhere carried out, unless when the Turk is afraid to break them under the eye of more powerful Europeans. To talk of a "Turkish government" is therefore a mere diplomatic conventionality. There is no "Turkish government." The object of a "government" is the protection of its subjects; and that the Turk does not give. The so-called "Turkish government" is an organized system of brigandage with a chief brigand called a "Sultan" at its head. Its sphere of oppression within Europe lies in certain parts of Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia, which remain in bondage while other parts have been set free. These are the lands officially called "Turkey." If we must use the name, we must go on to say that the "interests of Turkey," "the will of Turkey," mean the exact opposite to the interests and the will of the Turk. The first interest, the first wish, of "Turkey," is to cease to be Turkey by getting rid of the Turk.

This is the great object; the difficulties in carrying it out arise partly from dissensions among the liberated nations themselves, but much more from the crooked policy of the great powers of Europe—the powers that call themselves "Europe"—towards those nations. If those powers could only make up their minds to do a just act, their overwhelming strength could at once do all that is needed. The two special needs are to send the Turk out of Europe, and to divide the lands which would be thus set free between Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia, according to the really prevailing nationality of each district. This is just what "Europe" is wanted for. The Turk will not go of himself: it is not in human nature that he should. The liberated nations might combine to drive him out; but their combination is doubtful, and "Europe" could do the work much more thoroughly. "Europe" has every ground for doing so. The Turk has over and again promised "Europe" to make such and such reforms; but he has always broken his promises. He has forfeited all right, even by

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diplomatic courtesy, to lands which he holds only on certain conditions which he has broken. The first object, then, is to free certain lands from the Turk. The second is to make a fair division of those lands among the three nations concerned. It is not in human nature that they should make a fair division themselves. There never yet was kingdom or commonwealth, from the beginning of the world, that would not in such a case claim more than its fair share. To make such a division is exactly the kind of thing which "Europe" alone can do, and which "Europe" would be well employed in doing. In the interests of right, in the interests of peace, the Turk must be got rid of, and the lands which are still in his grasp must be fairly divided among their own people. I do not say that, if this were done, everlasting peace and good will would thereby be secured among the three nations, Greek, Bulgarian, and Servian; but one great cause of discontent, therefore one chief likelihood of war, would be got rid of.

But these are just the things which "Europe" has no mind to do. Several things stand in the way. There is the general feeling of princes and diplomatists against setting free anybody. There is their general dislike to see any people do any thing for themselves. If it is the Turk himself, the intruding barbarian, from whom this or that nation has to be set free, the princes have learned to look on him as one of their own order, and the diplomatists have learned to call him all kinds of flattering names. It is hard to do any thing against an Imperial Majesty to whom other Imperial Majesties go and pay visits. If the princes and diplomatists cannot help setting somebody free, they do it as grudgingly as possible. Mark the way in which little scraps of Greek territory have been set free, one by one, when it would have been just as easy to set free the whole Greek nation sixty or seventy years back. Sometimes, when men have been set free, "Europe" thrusts them back again into bondage. Mark how, when Russia had set free Bulgaria in the war of 1877, the assembled Excellencies at Berlin cut up the liberated land into three parts, one of which they gave back to the Turk to oppress at pleasure. Sometimes, as indeed in the case of re-enslaved Bulgaria, they salve their consciences by letting the Turk make new promises which they know that he will not keep any better than the old ones. Sometimes they think it clever to promise freedom to a certain people, but to promise it in words which they know how to creep out of. So they promised freedom to Thessaly and Epeiros, and then left them in bondage till one righteous man was able to win freedom for Thessaly and for a

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small part of Epeiros. "Europe," in short, when it comes together in a congress or a conference, will do any thing rather than frankly and at once set free a people from its oppressors.

To this natural dislike of princes and diplomatists to doing any thing for freedom, we must add the selfish interests of some among the great powers themselves. Four of them—France, Germany, Italy, and Great Britain—have no conceivable interest in prolonging the oppression of South-eastern Europe. France clearly has none; but we know not what she may be led into by a Russian alliance. Germany and Italy assuredly have none; but we know not what they may be led into by an Austrian alliance. Great Britain assuredly has none, though certain people make it their business to say that she has, and are not ashamed to say that, if British interests call for the enslavement of certain people, those people must be enslaved. The enemies of South-eastern freedom are the Austrian and Russian neighbors of the South-eastern nations. It is with the deepest pain that I write the word "Russian" in such a context. But so it is. I would fain believe that the blame lies with the master of Russia, and not with the people of Russia; but the fact is there. It is the difference between father and son. Alexander the Second set free Bulgaria. It was not his fault that "Europe" stepped in and said that part of the land which he had set free should be again enslaved. But it is the fault of Alexander the Third that the land which his father set free has turned against him, and will have the Turk himself rather than him. Bulgaria owed to Russia the deepest debt of gratitude that one people could ever owe to another; and that debt the Bulgarian people were ready to pay till their treatment at the hands of the present Tzar made it impossible. He has grudged the freedom that his father gave. He has alienated the heart of Bulgaria by a series of hostile acts, of which the kidnapping of Prince Alexander was only the grossest. Nobody believes that the kidnapping was done by the Tzar's order; but it could have been done only in the full belief that the Tzar would not be displeased at it. Alexander the Third has succeeded in what one would think must have been a hard task,—that of making Bulgaria see an enemy in Russia, a friend, at least for the nonce, in the Turk and the Austrian. The Turk is the old enemy, but he is not likely to advance: he is more likely to fall back yet farther. It was the Austrian, we may be sure, who let loose Milan of Servia on Bulgaria: but Servia is no longer an Austrian tool; it stands on the side of Russia. For the moment neither Turk

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nor Austrian is so dangerous to Bulgaria as the son of her liberator. The words are grievous to write; but they are true.

Russia, though under despotic rule, is a nation under a national chief. The nation and its chief may act a righteous part at one moment, an unrighteous part at another. The chiefs, at least, have done both within a few years. When we look at Russian dealings at this very moment with Bulgaria at one end, with Finland at the other, we see to what a great national power may sink. But such a power, as it may sink, may also rise: we may live to see Russia again playing as noble a part as she played in 1877. But there is one power from which there is no hope. There is hope from a nation; there is hope from a man, leader of a nation. There is no hope from a power which does not represent a nation, but simply the selfish interests of a family. The Turk himself, representing, if not a nation yet a creed, false and baleful as we deem that creed to be, stands higher in the moral scale than the Austrian, working for no nation, for no creed, for nothing that any process of self-delusion can raise to the height of a moral principle, but simply for the enlargement of the family estate. For that end, the House of Austria, as its very friends allow, will work any wrong, and put up with any shame. It will bite the heel of its benefactors; it will lick the hand of its conquerors. The defeated of Solferino and Sadowa is naturally not anxious for more fighting. He has won two provinces with no fighting save against the provinces themselves. He would like to get more on the same terms. To the nations of South-eastern Europe, Russia or any other national power may be an enemy one day and a friend the next: the House of Austria is their natural and abiding enemy. Their weakness, their division, their oppression, are the roads by which the House makes its way to dominion. Men talk calmly of "Austria going to Salonica:" they forget that that means the shattering forever of all the hopes of Greece, of Servia, and of Bulgaria too. In 1875 the sovereign of Hungary and Austria, lord of so many Slavonic kingdoms, had the chance of putting himself at the head of the great Slavonic movement, and of becoming the liberator of the South-eastern lands. He chose rather to stick to the petty policy of his House, and to leave the glorious toil of deliverance to his Russian rival. Since then, the Russian has changed for the worse; he may again change for the better. The filcher of Spizza will never change.

Here, then, are the liberated South-eastern lands, with their own causes of dissension among themselves, and an enemy to the north-

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west, the north-east, and the south-east. The Turk hardly counts; he ought to have gone long ago: but it is a good omen that every change takes something out of his grasp. But it is hard to reconcile the national dislike of Greek and Bulgarian: it is harder for either to escape the evil influence of the great rival powers on each side. The Russian and the Austrian are, if not avowed enemies, yet powers jealous of one another, and likely, on some of those small occasions which bring about great events, to become open enemies. To say nothing of any increase of actual dominion, neither power will willingly allow the other to win for itself a dominant influence in the South-eastern lands. Still less will either power allow the people of those lands to live their own life, and to grow their own growth, free from the meddling of either. To hinder this last danger, the two powers might even forget their own differences. Among the many forms which rumor takes, we sometimes hear that the two enemies are to agree to divide the land between themselves. They would do by Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria as they have already done by Poland and Lithuania. No doubt the robbers would fall out over the spoil. But the proverb which says that in such cases honest men win back their own does not always turn out true. Posen in the hands of Prussia, Warsaw in those of Russia, Cracow in the grasp of the Austrian, tell another tale.

The outlook, then, in the South-eastern lands, is dark. Yet it is not darker than it has often been before. Things are at least better than they were in 1821, better than they were in 1875. And wise and patriotic men in the South-eastern lands are striving in the noblest of causes. They are seeking for union at least, if possible for confederation, among the liberated nations. A partial union would be easy. Free Greece and the two Servian states have interests in common. But is an union possible between them and either Bulgaria or Roumania? There is the real difficulty. A partial union might only make things worse; it might only bring out the ill feeling between this and that nation yet more strongly. The spreaders of rumors are fond of drawing a picture of what they call the coming Armageddon. On the one side are to be Russia and France, with Greece, Servia, and Montenegro. On the other side are to be the Triple Alliance, strengthened, they are pleased to foretell, by Great Britain, and further re-enforced by the Rouman, the Bulgarian, and perhaps the Turk himself. Of the two evils, one would rather see Greek and Bulgarian honestly fighting in a national quarrel than thus see them made the cat's-paws of the common enemies of both.

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But a real confederation, a real union of any kind, among the liberated nations, would be a blessed work indeed. Disunion let in the Turk: union may drive him out. And union would give the liberated lands quite another look in the eyes of their European enemies. It is indeed a thing to strive for; and those who strive for it must not be cast down if they fail in their first efforts.

The spreaders of rumors, as I have just now said, are fond of chalking out a course for Great Britain. She is to take part with the so-called "League of Peace;" that is, she is to become the abettor of whatever schemes of family aggrandizement may be working in the subtle brain of the head of the House of Habsburg. Lord Salisbury might like such a job, and he would easily find a faction to abet him in any mischief. But one may hope that the mass of the people of Great Britain would never follow him in such a frantic course. Of course the cry is raised of withstanding Russia. Every effort is made to stir up British feeling against Russia, not as the oppressor of Bulgaria and Finland, but as in some mysterious way threatening British power, or what they think it fine to call British *prestige*, in some distant corner of the globe. But, if we simply keep to facts and not to imagination, nothing is more certain than that at this moment Great Britain has no plausible quarrel against Russia, and Russia has no plausible quarrel against Great Britain. But Russia and Great Britain owe a duty to both the liberated and the enslaved lands in South-eastern Europe. They have, in common with the other great powers, bound the Turk by promises which the Turk has failed to fulfil. He has pledged himself to mend his ways in Armenia, Macedonia, wherever he rules, and he has not mended them. Even if the other powers refuse, it would be specially becoming in those two to join to undo the wrong. It is not the business of Russia, or England, or any other nation, to go about the world as a self-commissioned redresser of wrongs. But it is the business of England and Russia and every other nation to redress wrongs which they have bound themselves to redress,—wrongs which are in a great measure of their own making.

When such questions as these are at stake, when such duties as these are laid upon Great Britain and Russia and every great power in Europe, it does seem strange indeed to hear the new cry, to watch the new scare, because a Russian ship has been seen in the Hellespont. After so frightful a sight, something more must be done to restrain Russia, some new barrier must be put in her way. At such a

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moment, it may be well to remember how the wise men who professed to set barriers in the way of Russia, set about their work at Berlin in 1878. The problem on hand, it was said, was to put a check in the way of a Russian march to Constantinople. On the line of such a march lay the lately liberated land of Bulgaria. The way in which the wise men, Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury foremost among them, sought to check the expected invader, was to make the barrier state weak and divided. Free Bulgaria was cut into three parts,—free, half-free, and re-enslaved. That there should be a re-enslaved part was the great exploit of all. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury went back to England, boasting that they had restored large districts to the political and military authority of the Sultan. They boasted, that is, that, whereas the despot of Russia had restored some millions of human beings to the rights of human beings, they, the representatives of a free people, had taken those rights away again from some of them. Presently, free and half-free Bulgaria came together again by their own act. Francis Joseph of Austria growled for a moment at the advance of freedom; but he presently saw that he could turn the new state of things to his own purposes. Lord Salisbury suddenly found out that the union of Northern and Southern Bulgaria was the very thing that he had been aiming at when he split them asunder. All have found out by this time, that, if Bulgaria is to act as a barrier against Russia, she must be free and united, not divided and enslaved.

There is at this moment one living man among English statesmen who can say that he found some thousands of European and Christian people just set free from the barbarian yoke, that he helped to thrust them back again under the yoke, and then boasted of what he had done. Go by the banks of the Vardar, and you will hear his name as Robert, Marquess of Salisbury, betrayer of Macedonia.

There is also one living man among English statesmen who can say that he found some thousands of European and Christian people, to whom Europe had promised freedom, with the barbarian yoke still about their necks, and that he, unaided, against all opposition, broke the yoke from off their necks. Go by the banks of Peneios, and you will hear his name as William Ewart Gladstone, deliverer of Thessaly.

Let the English folk in all lands think whether of the twain is the more worthy to be the leader of one great part of the English folk, if another hour of trial should come.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

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THE ARMED TRUCE OF THE POWERS.

In Europe to-day three million men,* the physical flower of the Continent, have been drilling, marching and counter-marching, practising at targets, learning the use of bayonet and sabre, and performing as nearly as is possible in sham fights the evolutions of actual war. It was so yesterday, and last year, and through all the yesterdays of twenty years. Seven times during this period has the *personnel* of the vast host been renewed: consequently, there are now about twenty million Europeans, not yet beyond middle life, who have been trained to the fighter's profession, and who could at briefest notice take their places in the active army or in the reserve. Every city has its barracks and parade-ground; every frontier frowns with a double row of fortifications. At the end of the nineteenth century, Europe, from the Douro to the Don, is a camp whereon ten times three hundred thousand of her able-bodied men are bivouacking, ready at a sign to spring to arms and slay each other. This spectacle is without parallel in the history of the world. Even in the boisterous days of antiquity, when wars were frequent, fighting was the business of comparatively few. Alexander's phalanx and Cæsar's legions were composed of picked men, who adopted the soldier's career, and followed it until they were retired or killed. So, too, the armies of Charles V. and Philip II., of Gustavus Adolphus and Turenne, varied in numbers from year to year. The majority of Napoleon's Old Guard, and of many of his regiments of the line, fought through a dozen campaigns; and he regulated the quota of each year's conscription according to each year's needs. But our generation has witnessed the expansion in Europe of a military system as severe in time of peace as the old systems were in war-time,—a sort of perpetual levy *en masse*. Measures which would once have been deemed unjustifiable except in the most threatening emergency are now employed every day, and what was the standard

* The Statesman's Year Book for 1891 gives the following figures of the chief European armies on a peace footing: Austria, 336,717 men; Belgium, 48,000; France, 593,277; Germany, 492,246; Holland, 29,000; Italy, 270,000; Portugal, 37,000; Russia, 814,000; Spain, 144,912. The statistics of the remaining countries would bring the total beyond three million.

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of war has been fixed as the standard of peace. Under the new system, every eligible man is at a given age withdrawn from his trade or occupation, and converted for three or four or five years into a soldier, till he becomes proficient in firing a breech-loader and in the appropriately-named "goose-step," after which he may go back to his civilian calling, but with the liability of being summoned to fight at any time until he is forty-five or fifty years old.

The economic waste due to this system needs no comment. To estimate its sum we must reckon in, not only the money actually spent on food, clothes, lodging, arms and ammunition, the salaries of officers, and the stipend of common soldiers, besides the building and repairing of fortifications, but also the wealth which these idle multitudes could produce were they profitably employed. Thus computing, Europe is poorer by not less than a thousand million dollars a year. Her armed peace during the past twenty years has cost her as much as she paid for all Napoleon's terrific campaigns from Lodi to Waterloo. In 1871, Germany exacted from France an indemnity of five milliards of francs, and the world wondered at the extravagance of the demand; but this enormous sum represents only Europe's average loss from her standing armies for any year since 1871. And all for what? Were a general disarmament to be effected to-morrow, the *materiel* of war that has been heaped up during two decades would be useless. The cannon might, indeed, be sold to the junk-dealer, and the uniforms to the ragman; but would the whole of Europe's tools of war bring for the purposes of peace five per cent of their immense cost? So far as the economical benefit of the world is concerned, those three million men who have to-day been perfecting themselves in the art of killing each other might as well have passed their time in blowing soap-bubbles or in playing jack-straws.

But beneath the economic lies the moral consideration; and, judged by any moral criterion, Europe's military system is condemned. Military service undoubtedly teaches the peasant to walk erect and to be neat; it gives him a manly bearing, and accustoms him to the idea of danger; in some countries, as in Italy, it serves both as an elementary school and as a means of diffusing a national spirit over provinces which till recently were kept apart by tyrannical rulers and immemorial feuds. Allow what you will for such beneficent influence, and yet the harm will more than outweigh these allowances; for, in proportion as the people of Europe have been converted into soldiers, they have been brought to esteem not peace, but war, as the condition

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in which they can best exercise the qualities which have been developed in them. In other words, European civilization to-day is based on the idea that war is not only an imminent possibility, but a probability; and a great class in every country has been trained to look upon blood-shedding as its proper vocation. The great prizes are reserved for soldiers: honors, fame, position, and the monarch's favor go to the sons of Mars. The military budget exceeds, many times over does it exceed, the appropriations for public instruction. The salary of a colonel is earned by but few professors. The cost of the powder and shot wasted in Europe between any dawn and dusk would probably pay the running expenses of all her public hospitals. In each government, whether it be constitutional or autocratic, the army may with truth be said to direct legislation; for the legislatures, willingly or unwillingly, vote the appropriations demanded by the War Department. Even if a legislature dares to question or protest, it is quickly frightened into acquiescing by an alarming report from the minister for war. Thus the military class controls government, and has laws passed to suit itself, and prevents all attempts to cut down or to abolish its power. It intimidates the state not less really, though less openly, than the Pretorian Guard intimidated old Rome. Kings and ministers do, indeed, assure the public that they chiefly endeavor and desire to preserve peace, but in the next breath they call for larger funds and more recruits. Kaisers meet, and kiss each other on both cheeks; they extol the sweetness of brotherly love; they attend each other's grand manœuvres; and then they increase the garrisons along their respective frontiers. A strange method this for testifying to their peaceable intentions! Men who, year after year, feed their war-dogs on raw meat, expect that they will not become pugnacious! To breed up a race of soldiers; to hold constantly before them the military ideal as the best; to show them that the ladder of promotion is climbed most quickly in war, only a battle or two between present obscurity and a coveted distinction; and then to tell them that they must not hanker for war;—this truly is a paradox! When law-students have fitted themselves for the bar, they are not told that they ought to pray that they may never have a chance to practise their profession.

But the prime office of history and of all experience is to train us to see things as they are, in order that we may emancipate ourselves from the slavery of names and appearances. We are so uncritical, so ready to take the word for the thing! We generalize and blur those

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fine distinctions in which truth dwells. Without discrimination, we give the same name to things widely different, as when we speak of England, France, and Russia as "Christian countries." Prove that one of them is Christian, and you prove that the others are not. And in any country, in England for example, where does the Christian fountain spring? In Lambeth Palace, or in the Nonconformist chapel, or in the slums of Whitechapel? Therefore, let us look this spectacle of armed Europe squarely in front. Our age surpasses all previous ages in asserting that it has attained the highest civilization; it is cock-sure that war is barbarous; it believes that it desires peace beyond every thing. These are its words, the commonplaces of its pulpits, journals, and tribunes; yet over against these stands the unshaken fact that never in her history has Europe devoted so much attention to her armies, never has she so successfully converted her citizens into soldiers and familiarized them with the idea of war, as now. What we do, we are; what we think, we would be. Europe, full of pacific thoughts, devotes herself to warlike preparations. And if we go back a little from the present we find, that, although the same pacific maxims passed current, Europe engaged in four terrible campaigns within sixteen years,—the Crimean war, the Italian war, the war between Prussia and Austria, and the Franco-Prussian war. Of these only one, the war which liberated a part of Italy from Austrian tyranny, was declared for motives which a civilized judge would commend.

Let us then, sweeping away cant and self-deception, face the fact that to-day, whatever may be the opinions and wishes of private moralists, the public policy of Europe is based on the principle that might is right. At present, not less than in the days of Attila and Aetius, nations appeal to brute force to decide their quarrels: there is no other arbiter to whom they will listen, and from whom they cannot appeal. When war breaks out, each belligerent, since we all wish to appear virtuous however wicked we may be, invokes the God of Justice to uphold his cause; but in their hearts both trust in the God who fights on the side of the heavy battalion. Him they believe in; and it is because of their belief in him that all the nations of Europe have to-day been drilling their regiments. It does not follow, of course, that, because the stronger wins, might is right. When Austria and Prussia crushed Denmark, and robbed her of her provinces, which was right? When England drove France out of India, and outwitted her in Egypt, was justice so much as thought of by either? Among nations, the test of brute force as little settles the question of justice

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as among individuals. And do we not here touch the root of the matter? Individuals no longer resort to brute force to settle their quarrels and to adjust their grievances; but the state, the sum of all its citizens, still lags behind their standard of morals and justice. There are to-day many highly civilized Frenchmen and Germans; but France and Germany in their attitude towards each other are not above the level of gladiators or prize-fighters. The mediæval trial by combat was so clumsy a method of allotting justice between two contestants, that we remember it now only as a curiosity: even the duel, its silly survivor, has no defenders, and has become, even among those who practise it, for the most part so harmless that no one takes it seriously. To suppose that a man's honor can be vindicated by his ability to thrust a sword, or aim a pistol, is inexcusably ridiculous. Superiority in physical strength, or in skill to use weapons, reveals nothing as to the righteousness or injustice of one's cause. To this fact civilized men in their private affairs all submit; but nations, let us again repeat, in their mutual relations, are still on the low plane where might makes right. Would it not be as rational to settle disputes according to the brute weight, instead of according to the brute strength, of the disputants?

This striking difference between the actions and ideals of men as units, and the actions and ideals of men in masses, cannot be too strongly emphasized. Mankind in the lump may be bad, though that lump be composed of particles intrinsically good. Watch a multitude in times of excitement. It seems possessed of a composite spirit unlike that spirit which guides each of its members. Hence many of the paradoxes of history: hence those popular outbursts of frenzy or fanaticism, and the woful discrepancy between the morality of states and of individuals, by which we are astonished. My purpose, however, is not to moralize over this fact, but simply to call attention to it. I know that some philosophers, observing the constant tendency of mankind to fight, declare that the warlike instinct is ineradicable, and that wars will succeed each other to the end of time. This conclusion seems to me to be premature. Time was when it seemed improbable that the individual would ever rise above the appeal to physical force and private vengeance, but the civilized individual has now learned to respect impersonal justice: it remains to be seen whether states, which still conduct their international relations after the fashion of Corsicans and prize-fighters, will not similarly progress.

We hear much about the persistence of race-hatreds, and it is

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assumed that they can no more be appeased than can the intuitive enmity of cats and mice. Indefinite and unreasoning, but predominant, these racial prejudices are, we are told, to be as prolific of wars in the future as they have been in the past. But in fact, race-hatreds are not the blind, spontaneous passions that they have been described. Trace the growth of any of them, and you will find that it sprang from and was nurtured by causes easily measured—usually from the fear of a weaker race of being harmed by a stronger. And when the cause has been removed, the hatred has disappeared. Welshmen and Scotchmen once hated Englishmen with a deep-rooted hate: they are now friends. Less than thirty years ago, Italians and Austrians were "natural enemies:" now they are leagued together by commerce and diplomacy. So the rancor between France and Germany, that men now deem incurable, does not exist in the order of things irremediable, but is the product of causes that might be removed. How monstrous it is to assert that the German peasant who gathers his hops along the Pegnitz is the natural enemy of the Frenchman who tends his vineyards on the Côte d'Or! Why, they do not so much as know of each other's existence!

But governments and dynasties keep alive these feuds between nation and nation; they stimulate a false patriotism by teaching the masses to regard foreigners as foes; they organize brute force, and accustom the people to use that in solving international problems. The glamour which envelops military prowess still fascinates. The professional soldier—who does not deserve from society as much respect as the policeman—is a privileged creature whose value has been wonderfully magnified. We cannot look anywhere in Europe to-day without being struck by the tenacity with which conditions feudal in their origin still survive. Fifty years ago reformers believed that constitutional liberty would deal the death-blow to these odious conditions. They insisted that when each nation should be independent, and be allowed to express its wishes through the votes of popularly elected representatives, international strife would cease. In several countries that liberty has been acquired; in others it has been partially acquired: and yet Europe is to-day an armed camp, and the era of peace has not dawned. Shall we infer from this that these enthusiasts were wrong, that constitutional liberty is a failure? Not at all. The truth is that the dominant classes, which formerly did their will regardless of popular wishes, have simply taken control of the constitutional machinery, and by means of it now do their will. Of what

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value is representative government in Germany, for instance, so long as the laws voted by the deputies can be vetoed without appeal by the sovereign, or so long as the chancellor, by threatening to resign, can carry through his policy in spite of an adverse majority? Bismarck would not have been Bismarck, had he not despised representatives so flabby. It mattered little to him how much they deluded themselves with the belief that they made the laws, for he, after they had gabbled and disputed to exhaustion, always spoke the decisive word.

While, therefore, during the past half-century many European countries have advanced from autocratic government to the semblance of constitutional liberty, while the process of democratization through the extension of the franchise has steadily progressed (and there never was so much talk of civilization), the armies have not disbanded, and peace, the supposed symbol and crown of civilization, has not been found. The best that European statesmen can do is to maintain an armed truce, which costs a thousand million dollars a year, and keeps three million men employed in wasteful military preparations, while the women and children till the fields in their stead. The masses, though possessing a vote, have been persuaded by their rulers of the necessity of keeping up the immense armaments; they are scared, by rumors of war and foreign invasion, into undergoing the tedious and unprofitable military service. In spite of the vast expansion of international commerce; in spite of railways, telegraphs, and steamships, which make the most distant countries neighbors; in spite of the rapid diffusion of literature, which serves to acquaint one people with the thoughts of another; in spite of the fact that there never was a time when nations were so dependent on each other for a part, at least, of their food-supplies and for the exchange of their industrial products, —in spite of all these and other reasons for abandoning war, Europe has never had a military organization so vast and so complete as at present. Astounded by this anomaly, some observers acquiesce when cynics declare that the Cain instinct in human nature can never be uprooted, and that society can be temporarily eased, but never cured, by periodic blood-letting. Men of science, harping on their doctrine of the "survival of the fittest," point out that, just as in the animal world one species is fated to be the prey of another, so among races the weak must be crushed or exterminated by the strong; and optimists, reluctant to give up their belief that true civilization presupposes peace, begin to fear that war will be abolished only when arms and equipments shall be so destructive that no states will dare to em-

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ploy them. And yet the fact confronts us, that while six farmers or six merchants dwell side by side, and pursue their several occupations in mutual amity, posting no armed sentinels on their thresholds, and not going about to shoot each other at sight, six nations—composed of a multitude of merchants and farmers—block their thresholds with fortresses, fill their dwellings with garrisons, and turn their fields into camps.

But we have set forth these paradoxes sufficiently for our present purpose. We have repeated truisms, indeed; but truisms which every one admits, and nobody lives by, need to be repeated and interpreted. In our time, optimistic and philanthropic opinions circulate so generally that we need to be on our guard against them; for these opinions do not correspond to facts. Like mist on a river in the morning, they prevent us from seeing in which direction the current flows, and what it sweeps along with it. We are so wedded to the notion that the world improves, that we feel dismayed and angry when the great grim realities which must be overcome before the world can improve, thrust themselves upon us through the pretty veil of fancies which we have wrapped around us. One of these realities is the fact that among European states physical force is the final judge; that not justice, not intelligence, not right, but brute force and soldierly dexterity, decide, as among prize-fighters or duellists, international questions.

Let us, therefore, briefly survey the position of those states which have to-day been drilling their three million soldiers. Every monarch and minister protests that this enormous burden of preparation is necessary, though each protests that he has no desire to break the peace; and the populations whose welfare evidently depends on peace consent to furnish the means, and to pay the cost, required for maintaining this vast armament. Rightly or wrongly, then, Europe has been persuaded that she cannot dispense with her military system, cannot make her actions tally with her pacific protestations. By whom is her tranquillity threatened? What reason have her several powers for supposing themselves in imminent danger of attack?

Revenge and ambition are the most prolific causes of international war; and under ambition I class not only the desire to seize the territory or treasure of a rival, but also the desire to divert attention from internal discontents by engaging in a foreign war. Among the great powers to-day, France is saturated with the longing to avenge herself on Germany, and Russia is puffed up with ambition. The French insist, to be sure, that they wish only to defend themselves

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from attack; but in their hearts there rankles the consciousness of their defeat in 1870, and there lie Alsace and Lorraine as perpetual reminders that what once was French is now German. Germany will yet rue the day when she seized those provinces; for though France may never win them back, yet not in our generation nor in the next will she relinquish the attempt: for they are the concrete and visible signs of her humiliation. She might forget Gravelotte and Sedan, as she has forgotten Waterloo; she might forget that the Prussian army in 1871 bivouacked on the Champ de Mars, and paraded through the Champs Elysées, as it had done in 1815: but only a draught of the waters of Lethe could make her forget that the German flag flies to-day over Metz and Strasburg. That is a taunt she cannot brook, a challenge she will not reject. That Germany secured a better strategic frontier cannot be denied; but national passions outlast fortresses, and revenge is a passion which has carried armies over mountains, and through deserts, and across seas. By annexing Alsace and Lorraine, Germany consciously flung into the midst of European politics a permanent source of discord, and imposed upon herself the need of maintaining a larger army to guard against the consequences of her blunder. France has no natural quarrel with her other neighbors. The Pyrenees shut her off from Spain, and the Alps from Italy, and, though there is no similar barrier between her and Belgium, it is improbable, that except in the event of a general war, and redistribution of spoils, she would make a grab for Belgian territory.

Germany, having rounded out her empire by the seizure of the Danish provinces in 1864, and that of Alsace and Lorraine in 1871, can honestly enough affirm that at present she nurses no dream of further territorial aggrandizement, and that she only wishes to be let alone. Should a suitable occasion offer, she might, indeed, take Holland; but she would hardly make war for that single object. Eastward there is little for her to covet; for, were she to encroach on Russia as far as Riga, she would have no better frontier than at present, and she would saddle herself with a batch of Slavic subjects for whom, as she showed recently in her treatment of her Polish subjects, she has no liking. Southward, on the other hand, there are several millions of Germans, who, at the dissolution of the Austrian Empire, would naturally unite themselves to Germany; but the existence of the Austrian Empire as a check on Russian advances is so necessary to Germany's own safety, that she would be the last to endanger it. Germany, therefore, has no motive of revenge nor of territorial ambition to goad her

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into war; but she is, nevertheless, the one great power whose geographical position compels her to be armed and ready. On the west, she is menaced by France, in whom she implanted an implacable hatred; on the east, she is menaced by Russia, the colossal barbarian who feels the barbarian's impulse to overrun the lands, and possess the wealth, of more civilized men.

Russia is, in fact, the centre of the warlike storm-area to-day. Eliminate her from European politics, and the other powers would have no plausible excuse for keeping up their armaments, because France, in spite of her grievances and wrath, would see the hopelessness of dashing her head against Germany supported by Austria and Italy. The possibility of winning Russia as an ally to strike Germany "between the hammer and the anvil" has given French revenge a concrete practical form, and has forced Germany to stand by her guns. But the Russian monster threatens not only Germany: as Napoleon discerned eighty years ago, he endangers all western Europe. There comes a stage, in the progress of a race out of barbarism, when its rapid increase in numbers is accompanied by a rapid development of warlike propensities. Its conditions in a state of peace are not so attractive as to cause it either to prefer peace or to fear that war will make them worse. Look through history, and you will find that the great conquering nations have been of two kinds,—those which, like the Romans, spread their dominion in proportion as they rose above their neighbors in civilization; and those which, like the Goths and Huns and Turks, vanquished by superior physical force nations more highly civilized than themselves. It is to the latter class that the Russians belong. What we deem civilization is only skin-deep upon them: it no more affects their real nature than the color of a coat of paint affects the shape and speed of a ship. That, out of a population of ninety million Russians, a few thousand nobles and rich *bourgeois* should have learned the western languages, and put on western manners; that they should read French novels, and pick up smatterings of German philosophy; that Muscovite grandees should own palaces in Paris, and villas on Lake Como and the Riviera; that Russian princesses should startle Homburg and Monaco by the recklessness of their gambling; or even that the Czar should possess the most luxurious royal yacht in the world, and that his army should be equipped with the latest improvements in artillery and rifles,—all this is no evidence of civilization. If any one doubts that the Russians are still barbarians, let him study their social organization from top to bottom; let

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him analyze their political methods since the days of Peter, and then let him turn to their literature, which reveals their point of view and their ideals. The portraits which Turgeneff and Tolstoi draw of their countrymen need no comment. It is two centuries since Peter returned home from the shipyards of Deptford with the determination of making Russia a great European state; and yet Russia is relatively as far behind the Occidental standard to-day as she was then. At heart the Russian is still more Asiatic than European. We call him Christian; but his religion is a mingling of superstition and fanaticism less attractive, and certainly less conducive to morality, than the religion of the Bedouins. His nature has, too, something of the Oriental fatalistic cast that makes him the stolid victim of the oppression of his rulers, or the obedient tool of their ambition. There are four or five score million of these barbarians to-day, who are chiefly conscious of two facts,—that beyond their western borders stretches a land of promise; and that the sword wins the products of loom and plough.

I do not wish to exaggerate the danger which central and western Europe runs from the huge semi-barbarous nation east of the Dnieper; least of all, would I attempt to prophesy: but I would point out how, in the past, races at the stage where the Russians now are, have swept from east to west in pursuit of plunder and comfort. What the riches of Italy were to the Germans of the fifth century, what the settlements of Germany were to the Huns in the eleventh century, what the plains of Hungary and the Danubian valley were to the Turks of the seventeenth century,—such is civilized Europe to the Russians to-day. Shall the Slavic race alone, and of its own accord, resist that general impulse which from the beginning of history has sent tribe after tribe from the far east on its march towards the Atlantic? The Slavic wave of invasion, temporarily checked, has rolled back over Asia, till the Russians are now masters in Khiva and Samarcand, they have pushed their outposts far forward into Asia Minor, they make China anxious, they lie in wait before the gate of India. But Panslavism, which long ago set its eyes on Europe, will never be contented with the vast wildernesses of Asia. Mark how steadily the Muscovite conquest has crept along the Danube, and down the Balkan Peninsula towards Constantinople, gaining as much by intrigue as by battle; mark how the Czar poses as the protector of Greek Christians against their Mohammedan masters, and makes difficult the rule of those princes who do not give themselves up to his guidance.

Panslavism, we may be sure, has not begun to attain its full growth.

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It has as yet hardly realized its own power nor made any determined active attack on its western neighbors. Incapacity for political organization has been the characteristic of the Slavic peoples: owing to this defect, Poland fell to pieces, and the Bohemians, hitherto the ablest members of the Slavic family, failed to establish a durable state. This incapacity is still Europe's best protection against a Russian invasion; for were these ninety millions of Russians as compactly organized as are the Germans, only a coalition of all the western powers could hold them at bay. It may yet happen that Frenchmen and Germans, sinking their lesser quarrels in the presence of a common danger, fight side by side against Cossack invaders.

Racial ambition, therefore, is one strong cause of Russia's belligerence, and it is a cause that seems likely to increase rather than to disappear. Add to this the dynastic necessities of the Czar, the unreasoning obedience of the masses, and the fact, that, whereas Russian territory has little attractiveness for western Europeans, western Europe would be rich spoil for scant-fed Muscovites, and we see how it is that St. Petersburg is the permanent storm-centre of Europe. Even lack of money would deter Russia less than other nations from declaring war: she has so much to gain and so little to lose, and she has no sentimental pride that shrinks from being called "bankrupt."

Austria, on the contrary, should be the last to risk a conflict; for her very existence has become so anomalous and uncertain that any accident might destroy it. Other states have grown strong through the coincidence of their national and ethnic forces; the Austrian state hardly maintains itself by playing off one people against another, and by neutralizing forces which all tend from, instead of to, the centre. Were the imperial control relaxed, the Slavic elements would gravitate towards Russia, the Teutonic towards Germany, the Romance towards Italy, and Hungary would remain as a wedge in the heart of eastern Europe. The war of 1866 closed Austria's career of supremacy among the Germans. Since then, recognizing Russia as her most dangerous foe, she has allied herself with Germany, who has good reasons of her own for checking the northern Colossus. In compensation for the loss of her Italian provinces, Austria, since the congress of Berlin, has pushed her influence over the Balkan Peninsula, hoping that, if not Constantinople, then at least Salonica, may be hers. But the acquisition of Slavic lands and Slavic subjects brings her no real strength: on the contrary, it augments the number of those who, though now Austria's wards, are disposed by race and tradition to rise

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against her at the first Panslavic war-cry. Though a skilful juggler may keep four or five balls in the air, there is a limit to his dexterity, and, if he attempt but one more ball than he can handle, that and all the others will fall to the ground. The condition under which the Hapsburgers for many centuries astonished the world by their skill in race-jugglery no longer obtains, and to-day they rule an empire which lacks coherence and cohesion. Simply to bind together their discordant parts, to keep the peace among Teuton and Slavonian, Czech and Magyar, is task enough for them. Like Germany, Austria, far from wishing to be the aggressor, should prefer to be let alone. Her ostensible excuse for maintaining a numerous standing army is her need of being prepared against Russia, and of resisting the centrifugal instinct of her own contentious subjects.

Turning next to Italy, we see the state which suffers most from a military system into which she was entrapped by the folly of her politicians and by her own vainglory. Since 1870, when her kingdom was completed by the annexation of Rome, Italy has had no valid reason for making war. A handful of Irredentists have indeed clamored for the recovery of Nice, Ticino, the Trentino, and Trieste,—enterprises which the great majority of the Italians have shown no disposition to engage in. Innocent of territorial ambition and of vindictive desire, Italy might have dispensed with all her regiments except the few that were needed to supplement the police in bringing her disorderly districts under the rule of law. In reality she has proportionately as large an army as Germany's. Many motives have induced her to persist in this sterile sacrifice. Having been admitted into the circle of the great powers, she must follow their fashion; she must prove that, contrary to the old opinion, Italians can be first-rate soldiers; she had been for so many centuries the prey of foreign invaders, that she was naturally nervous lest her hardly-won independence should be snatched from her. Then, too, she was ambitious to "cut a figure," to have influence and command respect among her neighbors; and as she saw that those neighbors judged each other by their armies, and that the best counsel was that which had artillery to emphasize it, she made haste to provide herself with army corps and cannon. In spite, however, of these and other considerations, there is no evidence that Italy has at any time in the past twenty years been in danger from foreign invasion; nor is it probable that the existence of her large standing army has saved her from attack. Rather is it true that her neighbors would not have attacked her, even though her

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armament had been much smaller than it has been. France and Austria are the only powers which, on whatever pretext, could directly assail her; but Austria since 1866 has realized that it would be suicidal to attempt to reconquer Venetia and Lombardy; and France since 1870 has realized, that, if she engages in any war in Europe, she will inevitably find Germany arrayed against her. It is plain, therefore, that the German army has been for twenty years Italy's best guaranty of immunity from French aggression, and that Germany, placed, as we have seen, between the French hammer and the Russian anvil, was not likely to disband her army; but the Italians, instead of availing themselves of this advantage, and devoting their money and energy to the wofully needed internal development, took upon themselves the heavy burden of an armament equal to that of their strongest neighbors. Knowing what we know of Bismarck, we can guess with what shrewdness he encouraged Italy to persevere in her deluded militarism, painting imaginary dangers so vividly that she took them to be real, and persuading her that her welfare was involved in that of Germany and Austria. So she jumped at the offer of becoming a partner in the policy of the central powers, and formed an alliance by which, so far as the world sees, her security has not been increased one jot. Austria and Germany are, of course, strengthened by having an ally with three hundred thousand soldiers and a fine navy willing to embrace their quarrels; but in return they guarantee nothing to Italy that she might not have had for nothing, had her politicians been wise. Were there no Triple Alliance, the French would still not dare to cross the Alps; for they know well enough, that, for every French regiment that entered Piedmont, three German regiments would enter France.

Italy's position differs from that of all other nations in that she is involuntarily entangled in a conflict bequeathed to her by the past. The possession of Rome as her capital was indispensable to her unity; but in possessing herself of Rome she had to annul the temporal power of the papacy. No Italian, unless he be an ecclesiastic or financially interested in the restoration of the Pope, dreams of re-opening the Roman question. Romans remember the corruption and abuse of their papal government with an abhorrence not unlike that which decent New-Yorkers feel when they recall the administration of Tweed. But, unfortunately for Italy, the Vatican is a hotbed of astute intriguers who persuade foreign Catholics that the Holy Father can never fulfil his spiritual mission of saving souls, unless he be reinstated as temporal prince of the Eternal City. In what way the exercise of civil

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functions conduces to the successful discharge of spiritual duties has never been shown, even by the loudest advocates of the papacy. All history proves that the union of Church and State debases both Church and State; and from Dante's time down to the present, loyal and disinterested Catholics have deplored the conversion of the shepherd's crook into the monarch's sceptre. Nor is it recorded that Christ himself regarded the possession of the governorship of Jerusalem, or of the kingship of Judea, as indispensable to the success of his mission among men. Foreign Catholics, however, still cling to the temporal anachronism, opposed alike to reason, to religion, and to the spirit of the age; and the Italians, whose wishes have been so often ruthlessly set aside, still dread lest those foreigners should seize a favorable moment for meddling again in Italian affairs. No doubt their dread causes them to magnify their danger, and so to persist in a foreign policy which neither common sense nor self-interest can justify. Crispi and politicians of his stripe have frightened their countrymen with the silly story, that, but for the Triple Alliance, France would rush to the rescue and restoration of the Pope's temporal sovereignty. All we need to remark is, that, if Crispi believes his own assertions, he is a fool; and that, if he does not believe them, he is a knave. When republican and irreligious France shall become so zealous for Catholicism as to embark in a papal crusade, not only will there be no German garrisons in Alsace and Lorraine, but the political and religious conditions of Europe will be so completely changed that no one can now foresee their character. France, on her side, would be imbecile indeed, if she rejected the unsolicited advances of a power which can, in a greater or less degree, foment disturbances among the Catholics of Germany, Austria, and Italy; but we must not suppose, that, because France accepts this gratuitous aid, she has any pious or sentimental reverence for the Pope, or is at all concerned to re-establish his rule in Rome. Just as little does it follow, that, because she has limed the Czar into an alliance, she prefers the autocratic form of government to her own. The point to observe is, that Italy, having lost her commerce with her best purchaser, France, in order to please her partners in the Triple League, has received no adequate return from them. Not only are they careless of her commercial plight, but they are indifferent to the petty annoyance which the Vatican stirs up against her. The Austrian emperor, out of respect for the Pope, has never been to Rome to return King Humbert's visit; and Prussia has resumed her diplomatic intercourse with the Vatican in spite of her

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official alliance with the Quirinal. Italy's indulgence in the military dissipation of the age has had the least to excuse it, and it has cost her relatively more than it has cost her fellows.

Of Spain we need not speak, because Spain has long been outside of the direct current of European politics. The natural distribution of the powers would be according to race-origins, the Latin races forming one family, the Teutonic another, and the Slavic a third; but we have seen how little influence such a consideration has had in the creation of the existing leagues and animosities. Diplomacy has persuaded the Italians that the Austrians, whom they justly hated thirty years ago, are their best friends; and the Austrians clasp hands with their Prussian conquerors. Diplomatists are the best of jugglers, making black seem white, and causing objects to appear or vanish, while their dupes, the dazed populations, wonder or applaud; or say rather that the politicians are hypnotizers, who have only to suggest to their patients to cut each other's throats for these irresponsible creatures to obey.

England's position among the great powers is unique. Having no greed for territorial possession on the Continent, she regulates her foreign policy entirely by what she deems her interests in Africa and India; and, since Russia is her only dangerous rival for the possession of India, England's natural friends are Russia's enemies. But most improbable is it that she would ever give armed assistance even to her best friends, unless she discovered that "British interests"—those sacrosanct objects of John Bull's veneration—were in jeopardy. It is not superior virtue that makes him hold aloof from the common military fashion. John Bull has no pietistic horror of a fight; but he has a long head for business, and, since the Crimean war, he has wisely refrained from fights which might give him glory, but not guineas. Above all, his insular home is his best protection: his stormy Channel is a better defence than a frontier bristling with Krupp batteries.

On these and similar grounds do the governments of Europe explain why they are obliged to keep up their standing armies. These are the alarms and dangers, real or imaginary, which cause the populations to submit to enormous sacrifices. Every country, even Russia, denies that it desires war, and protests that it would gladly disband its armament after its neighbors had disbanded theirs. Fifty years ago many men asserted and believed, that, when Europe should be reconstituted according to the principle of nationalities, the reign of peace would begin. Since then Germany and Italy have risen to national life, and many frontiers have been rectified, but Europe is still

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perturbed; and to-day it is not love of peace, it is not regard for morality, that prevents the armed truce from breaking into open war. Monarchs and ministers have lost faith in the attainability of real peace. As a poor substitute for it, they have perfected the present system, whereby each country, by being fully armed, hopes to discourage its neighbors from assailing it. Another method of securing immunity from attack is that commended by Bismarck: "Thrash your enemy within an inch of his life, so that he will give you no more trouble for many years to come." We know that Bismarck has often regretted the "easy terms" he granted to France in 1871. "If we should win again," he has said, "we would take care to leave her in such a plight that she could not lift her head for fifty years." To die without permanently crippling France, and without striking a decisive blow at Russia, and so to see the Germany he created secure from her two great rivals, embitters the close of the Iron Chancellor's career. That he has achieved neither purpose proves that he has measured his adversaries' strength, and found that he had not a good fighting chance against it. No moral scruples have deterred him. France likewise, or Russia, would have pounced on Germany any day during the past ten years, had victory seemed certain.

Political philosophers agree with the men who direct the politics of Europe, that might makes right. They express a righteous horror of Machiavellianism, yet they preach one of Machiavelli's fundamental doctrines; namely, that the state is bound by no moral considerations. "For the individual," says Rümelin, "the principle of self-abnegation is paramount; for the state, that of self-preservation. . . . The maintenance of the state justifies every sacrifice, and transcends every commandment." Hegel asserted that "the course of universal history lies outside of virtue, responsibility, and justice." Cousin says, "The apology for an epoch is in its existence, because its existence is a decree and judgment of God himself, or history is but a meaningless phantasmagoria. The very character, the sign of a great man, is that he succeeds. To curse power (I mean a long and lasting power) is to blaspheme humanity." Again: Goldwin Smith remarks, "History of itself, if observed as science observes the facts of the physical world, can scarcely give man any principle or any object of allegiance, unless it be success." At a time when such opinions are current; when it is taken for granted, that, while individuals are accountable to moral laws, states may, nay *must*, obey instincts no higher than those which rule the animal kingdom,—let us not be surprised that

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Europe has three million men permanently under arms. If a nation's instinct to rob and kill be not bad in itself, but only bad when it fails; if brute force be the only arbiter, and success the only justifier,—then, instead of three millions of soldiers, Europe should have thirty millions in the field.

To conclude, the difference between the present situation and that of any situation in the past is this: to-day there is a vast reservoir or magazine of military force kept constantly replenished, and ready to be drawn off at a moment's notice; in the past, warlike instincts were massed at irregular intervals for some specific purpose. Formerly, although wars were frequent, and easily kindled by partisan feuds or by ambition, there was a lull between one of them and the next, and peace was deemed the normal condition: now, the ordinary military burden in peace exceeds that of any but the most gigantic wars in the past, and the attainability of unarmed peace is almost abandoned. Then the *personnel* of an army was more constant, so that relatively fewer citizens actually performed military service; now all able-bodied citizens are in rotation put through the soldier's drill, all are inoculated with the *virus bellicosus*.* The present system of organization is so perfect that it has created a permanent army of three million men, with seven times that number of reserves, ready to do the bidding of its leaders,—a vast homicidal machine, avowedly as much beyond or below moral restraint as are the earthquake and the hurricane; a colossal Frankenstein, whom his makers declare they can neither shackle nor destroy. But if brute force be the final arbiter among nations, if it be idle for them to look for a harmony or a higher law, then let them and let us be honest, and give over our pacific pretences, and thank fate that our age has reduced the art of killing to a perfection hitherto unattained by even the most barbarous races. Let us proudly set up the image of Frankenstein in our places of worship, and make human sacrifices to him. And yet there is that other fact, mutely challenging and judging Europe's military system and all those who preach the ineradicability of the Cain instinct in nations,—six farmers or six merchants live peaceably side by side.

WILLIAM R. THAYER.

* As an example, Napoleon in eighteen years recruited 360,000 soldiers in Italy. By the present system, 90,000 are recruited every year.

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THE DEGRADATION OF PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS.

AMONG the most vital of public questions in the United States today is that of honesty in politics and of the maintenance of sound principles in the management of public affairs. As in 1776 came the question whether thirteen distinct and jealous Colonies might be born into a harmonious nation, and in 1861 the problem of the extinction of human slavery and the further preservation of the Union, so today we face an advancing crisis, which, while it lacks those dramatic features inseparable from questions determined by the arbitrament of war, is neither of less importance nor less difficulty than those involved in the two most conspicuous events of American history. Nations that have withstood the repeated convulsions of civil and foreign war have been finally disintegrated by internal corruption. A large number of thoughtful and patriotic men in various parts of the country are entering the struggle for honest and sound administration, and are generally agreed as to the main causes of the dishonest and unsound "politics" which have so brought that word into disrepute, and have seriously weakened the fabric of our government. Among these causes may be mentioned:—

1st, The large, ignorant vote supplied by foreign immigration,—a powerful weapon in the hands of political demagogues.

2d, Intense political partisanship, in part a heritage from the civil war, in which the great mass of citizens find an easy refuge from the exactions of logical thought and from the dictates of an unbiassed conscience, and that political bosses welcome as an invaluable mask behind which to hide schemes for acquiring personal power or plunder.

3d, Probably the most serious of all the causes lying back of our mal-administration of public affairs is to be found in those whom we rather paradoxically call "our best people;" that large body of men who fail to appreciate the personal responsibility resting on the citizen for the management of his own affairs, who are politically indolent, partly through absorption in business, and partly through an extreme optimism, which believes that "things are bound to come out right somehow."

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The civil war left Pennsylvania intensely Republican in sentiment, while her interests in manufactures, and consequent devotion to a protective tariff, bound her still more closely to the dominant party. In the disposition of her people, in her business interests, and in the popular belief that a rigid party adherence even in state and municipal affairs had been rendered necessary by the Rebellion, were found precisely those conditions best suited to favor the designs of that class of autocratic and unscrupulous political leaders who have been steadily gaining the ascendency in American politics. Nor did men ready to profit by the occasion fail to appear. Most conspicuous among those politicians, whether in this State or in the country at large, who aim to reduce the machinery of politics from its true purpose to that of a personal business organization, was Simon Cameron. The growth of the spoils system in Pennsylvania cannot be fully understood, or the present political conditions of the State made clear, without a glance at the salient points of his career, and an estimation of his influence upon his party. Simon Cameron—who, in turn, was Democrat, Know-Nothing, and Republican—ruled Pennsylvania as an autocrat, from the opening of the civil war until toward the close of his career, which ended in 1889. His entire course was marked by the subordination of public to private and family interests: it was that of the politician who regards public office as the obvious tool for the acquisition of private wealth, and wealth as the most potent factor in the retention of office. Among the early public transactions of Simon Cameron was that which gained him the soubriquet of "The Great Winnebago," and which created an outcry in its day. Reference to a report dated January 28, 1839, from the Indian commissioner to the secretary of war, shows that at that time Mr. Cameron was sent as one of a commission, composed of two members, to the Winnebago Indians at Prairie du Chien. The commission was to have disbursed in person to the Indians, according to the commands of the War Department, a hundred thousand dollars in gold. The money was so disbursed, however, through attorneys, that the Indians, instead of receiving a hundred thousand dollars in gold, received but a few thousand dollars paid them in Middletown bank-notes (of which bank Mr. Cameron was cashier). These notes were of small value to the recipients at that remote point. The commission, of which Mr. Cameron was the controlling spirit, violated the plain instructions of the department by its method of distributing the money, and colored its whole work with the suspicion

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of fraud. The government would not sanction the proceedings, and Cameron's commission was set aside. Mr. Cameron's election to the United States Senate in 1857 was obtained (as was generally and without contradiction claimed) through the bribery of three Democratic members of the Pennsylvania Legislature, who constituted the Democratic majority. The assurance that they would so vote if the Republicans would agree upon Cameron induced the Republican caucus to vote for him, by which he was elected as against John W. Forney. The feeling at the time was so intense against the three Democrats who sold themselves, that no hotel in Harrisburg would receive them.

Mr. Cameron's influence as a politician in Pennsylvania was such, that in 1860 the delegates to the national convention of the Republican party voted for him as their candidate for the presidency. Mr. Lincoln recognized his prominence by making him a member of his cabinet; but Mr. Cameron's course as secretary of war during the early days of the Rebellion gave the President good reason to repent his choice. Under Mr. Cameron's management, profligacy and corruption, in connection with army contracts and in furnishing supplies, increased to an alarming extent. Money was so squandered, trusted officers of the army were so thrust aside to make room for friends and favorites, and the affairs of that all-important department brought to such a state of open scandal, that Mr. Cameron was compelled to retire. In that crisis the life of the nation was in too great danger to allow such a state of affairs longer to continue. Leading businessmen from the great cities visited the President, and told him that Mr. Cameron must be superseded, or private loans for the support of the war would cease. Mr. Lincoln did not hesitate, but without consultation informed Cameron that Stanton would take his place, and appointed Cameron minister to Russia. Nor did Mr. Cameron abandon his office without receiving the sharp censure of a Republican House, which passed on April 30, 1862, resolutions condemning him for the employment of irresponsible parties instead of regular officers of the government, for purchasing public supplies by private contract instead of by open and fair competition; in all of which, as the report reads, "he adopted a policy highly injurious to the public service, and deserves the censure of the House." Senator Dawes of Massachusetts, then Mr. Dawes of the House, states, in connection with this affair, that although Mr. Cameron expressed a strong desire to explain his actions before a committee of investigation, and the committee assidu-

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ously sought to secure his presence, he could never be induced to appear. Though this censure was subsequently expunged, the facts on which it was based remained. It might be supposed that this disgrace would have closed the public career of the man to whom it attached; but the circumstances of his retirement from the cabinet did not prevent Simon Cameron from seeking a senatorship of the United States from Pennsylvania, nor the Legislature from granting it. But the means employed to gain success were still more damaging to his reputation than the scandals of the War Department; for although his party was a minority in the Legislature which elected him, according to sworn testimony given before the Pennsylvania House, he used bribery to secure his seat, offering one member, a certain Dr. T. J. Boyer, for his vote, the sum of twenty thousand dollars. In April, 1863, the Legislature, by resolution, instructed the attorney-general to institute criminal proceedings against Simon Cameron and those who were associated with him in the alleged crime. Nothing came of this, however, and in 1867 the Legislature again elected him to the Senate over many honorable competitors; and notwithstanding the fact that twenty-one Republicans were either solemnly pledged, or instructed by their constituents, to vote against him, and that a large body of the Republican press throughout the State denounced his election, he attained his object. He was again elected to the same place in 1872, holding his seat until 1877, when he resigned upon his failure to secure for his son, J. Donald Cameron, a seat in the cabinet. Mr. Cameron, senior, placed his resignation in the hands of Governor Hartranft, and notified the Republican members of the Legislature that it was his desire that Mr. Cameron, junior, should succeed him. Donald Cameron then held a separate personal interview in his own house with a sufficient number of Republican members to secure his election. It was after the success of his efforts was assured that the governor presented Simon Cameron's resignation to the Legislature. The inference is unavoidable, that, had this favorable result not been reached, the resignation of Simon Cameron would have been withheld. In 1879 Donald Cameron was a candidate for re-election. A Republican caucus was held in Harrisburg following the organization of the House. Twenty-seven members staid out of the caucus designed to effect Donald Cameron's nomination,—a sufficient number to have defeated his election, had they persisted in supporting another candidate. An adjournment of the Legislature was effected, so that the members were scattered to their homes, where Cameron's support-

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ers brought systematic pressure upon them until all but five succumbed. Foremost among these five men who could neither be cajoled nor threatened into submission was the brilliant and lamented Charles S. Wolff, for many years the leader of independent politics in Pennsylvania. This extraordinary method of coercing the action of the Legislature, which was supposed to express the will of the people, produced a strong but ineffectual protest from the press of the State. In the Senate, Mr. Cameron, junior, has since remained, where, with his associate Mr. Quay, he has been a silent representative of his State.

What were the results produced by the Cameron rule? Most conspicuous was the impress of servile unscrupulousness left upon the Legislature of the State and upon the entire political fabric. With the Cameron dynasty came the triumph of "boodle politics," which has been carried to its fullest and most scientific development in the career of Mr. Quay. But it is impossible clearly to depict, perhaps even fairly to estimate, the various indirect influences of evil exerted through the entire community by the long and successful career of these and similar politicians. Their success seemed, in the estimation of at least a part of the public, to justify the unscrupulousness of their methods, and to gild the unworthiness of their aims. There was a certain splendor in the untiring virility with which they pursued, captured, and devoured every morsel of office, honor, and emolument which came in view, and after which the heart of man could be supposed to lust. Like the vikings of Denmark, or the robber barons of the Rhine, their piracy lost its vulgarity in its successful audacity, and in the sense of contempt awakened by the feebleness of public resistance. The fallacy that what they did was "politics," and that public affairs could be conducted in no better way, came to wear the guise of truth. The spoils system, which demands the use of offices in the civil service for partisan or personal advantage, became firmly established. Instead of rule by the will of the people, expressed by the majority of their representatives in the Legislature, under this system is substituted the will of the party boss, who controls, not by the influence of wholesome and honest leadership, but wholly by the power of fear and of favor. Offices, from the smallest to the greatest, are apportioned by him, with keen discrimination, as pay to party henchmen for service done, not to the public, but to the boss, and with the definite understanding that acceptance of office binds to equally servile obedience in the future. The withdrawal of office, or the refusal to grant it, is the effectual punishment for the recalci-

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trant. Under this system, nearly the whole machinery of government is in the hands of a disciplined army of mercenaries, ranging from the great boss at the top, down, through every grade of service and authority, to the meanest of camp followers. None is too low to be of use. In the great cities the ballot-thief, the ruffian for intimidation or even violence at the polls, the big and little briber, are all needed for the work of carrying elections, and maintaining party supremacy. They will be secretly guided and directed in their evil work, and, so far as safety to their superiors will permit, shielded from punishment; but should too close a pursuit be instituted by independent citizens,—who, believing that in such a condition of affairs is the gravest menace to free government, have united to overthrow the power of the machine,—they are necessarily abandoned to such punishment as the justice of the courts awards them. The doors of the penitentiary in Philadelphia have closed behind petty ballot-thieves whose associate and leader—the man who had supplied both money and direction to guide their course, but who had covered his tracks too cleverly to be caught—remained a trusted party lieutenant, the recipient of Federal office.

But far greater than this positive evil in the exaltation to power of unscrupulous and dangerous men with their subservient followers, is the exclusion from political life of men of whose talents and integrity the State has the highest need.

In a neighboring city, where the spoils system flourishes as luxuriantly and as scandalously under the Democratic banner as here under the Republican, the writer recently met upon a social occasion some thirty gentlemen, representative of the city's best moral and intellectual life. "Not one of these men," remarked the host of the evening, "all of whom are fitted to be pillars of the State, could find admittance to political life here to-day." Their very manliness and independence, their fidelity to public interests, and unrelenting enmity to the tricks, shifts, frauds, and hypocrisies of politics as it exists, excluded them from a political career. Such a statement may be fairly made regarding Pennsylvania to-day. Young men of character, independence, and self-respect, cannot successfully enter the field of politics, for they must sacrifice those qualities which men of high tone cannot give up,—fidelity to principle, and independent convictions. In no State of the Union have young men been taught this baleful lesson more effectually than in Pennsylvania, under the Camerons and under Quay. A career in politics is open to no man who would

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not wear the boss's collar; and those who strove to assert their independence in opposition to the boss's will soon found the door of preferment and opportunity closed, and themselves steadily shouldered out of the political race altogether.

Another evil influence exerted in the community by machine politics has been noticeable in the weakening of independent utterance and criticism on the part of the newspaper press, in an unwillingness to speak plain and necessary truths of men whose whole strength had been put forth to corrupt political life and to bring popular government into ridicule and contempt. The most decorously moral of Philadelphia newspapers asked with astonished scorn, at the time when Simon Cameron conveyed his seat in the United States Senate to his son, whether or not proprietary government in Pennsylvania had really expired with the Revolution. And a few years later, in commenting upon Mr. Cameron's death, the same paper coupled his name with the names of Lincoln and Garfield, spoke of him as a patriotic statesman, praised his public and private virtues, and held him up as a model to young men.

Another mischievous influence which the boss and spoils system has exerted in Pennsylvania lies in the alliances which the bosses succeed in effecting with rich and influential men,—those who are most prominent in business circles, who generously aid the city's philanthropic and religious interests, and who in many ways are her most useful citizens. Such men do not defend the course pursued by the bosses; but at the same time they will not quarrel with them, or in any way weaken their hold on power. They regard them as the necessary though unsavory means of maintaining party supremacy, and so of preserving the business interests of the community. Had they seriously opposed the system founded in the State by the elder Cameron, developed and perfected by his successors and co-workers; had they recognized in it a subtle implacable enemy to the best interest of the entire community, and fought it untiringly as such,—the political history of Pennsylvania and of Philadelphia would not have been the shameful story of frequent fraud, misgovernment, and gigantic robbery that it is, and the community would have been spared the humiliation that has fallen upon it. A less unblushing support is given to machine and boss government in the State by another class of rich men, brilliant financial geniuses whose schemes stretch to the ends of the country, who sail their piratical craft close to the wind, and whose success has been so dazzling that the means by which it was attained

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meets with no public question, and those who have won it occupy, for the time at least, positions of prominence and influence in the community. The leaders of machine politics, while they have derived power from both of these classes of men in their individual capacity, have found a leverage tenfold stronger in joint action with them, as directors of great corporations, in controlling the Legislature of the State or the Councils of Philadelphia, from which they have secured undue privileges often harmful to the public interest.

This outline of general causes and effects in the political life of Pennsylvania paints the background for its recent events and those now transpiring, and explains the revolution of last autumn and the otherwise astounding disclosures of the last few months.

The independent revolt of the autumn of 1890, which gave the governor's chair to a Democrat, but left the other offices in that election with the Republicans, was the protest of the conscience of the State against the public character and course of one man, and the repudiation of the system of political corruption which he represented. Matthew S. Quay, for many years the most powerful leader of the Republican party in Pennsylvania, had long been odious to the people of the State. His whole course through a long series of events, among which only the most conspicuous can be referred to in this paper, was one of bold, cynical disregard of public welfare and of sound political methods. But notwithstanding the opposition which his course and that of lieutenants excited, and which awoke from time to time fierce and temporarily successful revolt, his history was one of steadily increasing power. At the opening of last autumn's campaign, among the majority of well-informed members of his own party in the State, he was discredited, both on account of his general course, and because of his connection with two conspicuous events.

In order to make good to the Pennsylvania Railroad and to private persons their losses from the labor riots of 1877, a bill to compensate them was introduced into the Legislature. This bill appropriated four million dollars to pay these losses, although they were subsequently settled for two millions and a half, the amount being paid by Allegheny County, on which the liability rested, and not on the State. Under the terms of this bill, the State was to have paid the entire four million dollars, although it was not liable for a single dollar. It is fair to infer, that of this amount one million and a half was to have been divided among politicians and lobbyists. But opposi-

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tion to the passage of the bill was encountered in the Legislature. In order to push the measure through, bribery was resorted to; and four men, among a large number indicted, pleaded guilty when brought to trial for the crime, rather than face the testimony known to be in the hands of the prosecuting committee. Most prominent among these were William H. Kemble, president of the People's Bank in Philadelphia and of the Traction Line of Street Railroads. He was sentenced with his associates to one year in the penitentiary at hard labor. But his punishment was of short duration; for through the influence of Quay, who, as secretary of the Commonwealth, was a member of the Pardon Board, he was by the action of that body set at liberty after passing a single night in confinement. This action of the Pardon Board aroused a storm of indignation in the State, and was referred to by the "New York Tribune" as the "most insolent defiance of public sentiment that has been seen since Tweed asked the tax-payers of New York what they were going to do about it."

This incident was not forgotten when the campaign of 1890 for the governorship of Pennsylvania opened; but its influence upon the public mind was secondary to that produced by the story of the alleged abstraction from the State treasury, by Quay and Walters (the latter was cashier), of two hundred and sixty thousand dollars. When in May, 1880, the affairs of the treasury were turned over to a new treasurer, Butler, the deficit was discovered; and it was only through the timely intervention of Senator Cameron, who advanced the sum of a hundred thousand dollars to meet the deficiency, that Mr. Quay was saved from exposure and punishment, and the party from disgrace. In the story of this affair, which has since become so widely known, and which was published in the "New York World" and "Evening Post," there were four alleged witnesses of the interview between Cameron and Quay when the former advanced his hundred thousand dollars,—Mr. Cameron and his counsel, Attorney-General Wayne MacVeagh, Mr. Christopher McGee, and a Mr. Norris, who has since died. Upon the publication of this story in the newspapers,—by which Mr. Quay was accused of one of the gravest crimes that could be charged against a public man,—it might naturally have been supposed that the accused would have sought vindication by bringing his detractors into court under a suit for libel, where all the evidence to prove his own innocence could have been convincingly displayed. But, notwithstanding the taunting demands of his enemies that he should so clear his reputation, he remained silent for

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nearly one year, and until long after every advantage that his refutation of the charge could gain, either for himself or his party, had been irrevocably lost. It might also have been supposed that the alleged witnesses of the crime would have come promptly before the public to deny the calumny against one whom it was in their power to protect by a word if the charge were false, or, in the event of their failure to act, that Mr. Quay would have called on them to do so. But neither have they spoken, nor has Mr. Quay, so far as is known to the public, asked them to speak.

Although Mr. Quay had neglected every obvious and satisfactory method of convincing his constituents of his innocence of the crime of embezzlement, he determined, through the election of a Republican candidate for the governorship, to obtain what might be considered a vindication. The first plank of the platform of the State Republican Convention, adopted June, 1890, expressed gratitude to Senator Quay for "his matchless services in the last presidential campaign," and declared that as a citizen, and by his conduct in the various offices he had held, he had "won and retains our respect and confidence."

Mr. Delamater, the Republican candidate for governor, who was nominally chosen by the vote of the convention, but who had in reality, as there is abundant evidence to show, been "slated" by Mr. Quay more than a year before, stood upon this platform when he asked the suffrages of the people. This fact was the main ground of the opposition of the Independent Republicans to his election. A vote for him was a vote to vindicate Mr. Quay and to declare respect and confidence in him. This the Independents argued was an insult to the intelligence and self-respect of every honest man who knew the facts; and as the Democrats had nominated Robert E. Pattison on their ticket, a man of unexceptionable character and one who had thrice before served the public acceptably,—twice as comptroller of Philadelphia, and afterward as governor,—his election was advocated. It is true that serious charges were brought against Mr. Delamater, before the campaign opened, by a brother Republican, Senator Lewis Emery, jun., and that they were never satisfactorily met; but this was only one of the causes which incited revolt, and the main assault of the Independents was made on the ground that Senator Quay asked the State to vindicate him, and that, if the State respected itself, it would defeat his candidate, and refuse to do so.

The independent opposition consisted of two separate bodies; first

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the State Independents, composed of various elements throughout the State, many members of which had belonged to the old independent movement of 1882, when Beaver's election was successfully resisted as a rebuke to Cameron. Among them were a few leading Philadelphians; but the great majority were from the State. The second body were the Lincoln Republicans, as they fortunately called themselves, much to the discomfort of the regulars and their amateur allies, who felt instinctively that the name foreboded serious loss for the party candidates, as the sharp contrast between the Republicanism of Lincoln and that of Quay would be used with telling effect in the arguments of the campaign. The working force of the Lincoln Republicans was composed of a small body of earnest men, many of whom had been members of the old Committee of One Hundred,—the famous company of reformers who fought with and broke up the Gas Trust, and rendered distinguished service to Philadelphia. The Independents were profoundly convinced that they were confronted with a great moral issue; that a question of "fundamental public morality," as their opening address expressed it, was up before the people for settlement. They believed that the general tone of public sentiment had sunk to a low level, poisoned into apathy by the long toleration of false principles and false methods in public life; that men asked no longer, "Is it right?" but "Will it pay?" that the Republican party in the State had lost its flame of early enthusiasm, and that the high moral purpose which once fed it had long since wasted into the ashes of an ignoble party and personal selfishness; that the political leaders who, with the advent of every election, called upon citizens to support Republican principles, were in reality banditti, masquerading in the ill-fitting garments of the veritable men whom they had superseded, and to whose party name they had forfeited the right. Quay's strength lay in persistent silence, in skilful, unseen manœuvring, in knowing the price of every man, and, when defeat came, in "quietly hanging on until things blew over." With Philip II. he might truly say, "that time and he were a match for any two." If conquered, he could rely for ultimate success upon the forgetfulness of the people. But the strength of the Independents lay in continual argument, and in appeal by pen and tongue to the mind and heart of all classes of the people by insisting that their government was founded on unchanging principles, ancient moral laws which it was both unsafe and dishonorable to violate; and that sooner or later the most tangible visible prosperity would decay, when its foundation of right principle had

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crumbled. Stimulated by this belief, the Independents made their campaign one of argument and education. They used the printing-press without stint, sending two hundred and fifty thousand copies of Mr. Quay's public record into every corner of the State, and other publications by the thousands. Their incessant letter-writing and frequent appeals were laughed at by the regulars as being quite unusual and altogether juvenile. But toward the close of the campaign they viewed the matter more seriously. The visits of Mr. Quay to Philadelphia became more and more frequent in order to steady the heads of his lieutenants, who had become dizzy with the constant fusillade of Independent argument, to which they either could not or would not reply. Alarm followed hilarity. Something must be done to counteract the growing power of the Independents throughout the State. The copious literature issued by the Lincoln Republicans was being read in every county. It produced the impression on the mind of the State Democracy, who had long looked with slight esteem upon their brethren of the same faith in Philadelphia, that a veritable revolution among the Republicans of that city was in progress, and that it was quite worth while for the State to bestir itself. The courage and vitality thus aroused among the Democrats of the State, added to the dissatisfaction in the oil regions with Mr. Delamater, through the belief that he was the agent of the Standard Oil Company, and the dissatisfaction of the farmers at the refusal of the Legislature to pass the Granger's Bill, contributed largely to the final result.

Three attempts were made by the Republican regulars to re-form their breaking lines. Chairman Andrews of the Republican State Committee—to meet the charge that Mr. Quay by his silence had allowed the public to assume that he was guilty of speculating with funds from the State treasury—published a letter stating that no living man would rise up and say of his own personal knowledge that Mr. Quay was guilty; to which the Lincolnites promptly responded, that they would stake their case on this point upon the statement that Mr. MacVeagh (one of the alleged witnesses of the transaction between Mr. Quay and Mr. Cameron) would make to the public, if Mr. Cameron, at Mr. Quay's request, would remove the seal of professional secrecy from Mr. MacVeagh's lips. No notice was ever taken by either Mr. Quay or Mr. Andrews of this very significant challenge; nor did the party press ever hazard a conjecture as to why Mr. Quay let so fair a chance to prove his innocence slip by. Then Mr. Andrews cried for help over the water to Minister Robert T. Lincoln,

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writing a letter which was never given to the public, but the concealed mendacity of which was neatly brought to light by Mr. Lincoln's reply, in which it was stated that the writer had no sympathy with men who fought against their party for no better reason than that their voice had not prevailed in the selection of a candidate in the convention. As none of the Lincoln Independents had attended the convention or been members of it, or had pronounced themselves in favor of any particular candidate, the fact was made plain that Mr. Andrews in his letter had deceived Mr. Lincoln. The last card of the regulars was to secure the presence of two cabinet officers—the secretary of state and the postmaster-general—at a great public meeting held in Philadelphia on the eve of the election, together with an address from Mr. Blaine, advocating the election of the regular Republican candidate, and so by a burst of popular enthusiasm to turn the ebbing tide. Both gentlemen were present. Enthusiastic crowds packed the building; Mr. Blaine's every word was applauded to the echo: but his eloquence and the personal enthusiasm which his presence inspired were not sufficient to save the cause which he advocated. The verdict of the following Tuesday showed that Pennsylvania, which under ordinary circumstances gave a Republican majority in State elections of from 40,000 to 70,000, had elected a Democratic governor by a majority of 16,554, while all the other names on the Republican ticket were elected by a handsome majority. The lesson taught by the election was too plain to be misunderstood.

Good results followed quickly upon the successful efforts of the Independents. The political machine, at which they had dealt a staggering but by no means fatal blow, has been unable to hide from public scrutiny its rottenness, from which the veil has been drawn, partly by financial troubles, and partly by Democratic investigation. One astounding revelation after another has bubbled up to the surface, telling plainly of abundant foulness yet beneath.

The expedient by which the Lincoln Independents supplied the Republican voters in Philadelphia with vest-pocket election-tickets unexpectedly brought to light the extent to which election frauds based on false registration had been carried by the Republican party leaders, and led to the prompt enactment of a more strict registration law, which will greatly aid in excluding such frauds in future. The Lincoln Committee sent out to registered voters, presumably Republicans, in the city of Philadelphia, election-tickets in a hundred and fifty thousand two-cent stamped envelopes. The names of the voters

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thus supplied were taken directly from the official registration-list. More than fifteen thousand of these letters were returned to the committee by the post-office authorities, marked "not found." The inference was plain. The registration-list had been swelled, between June and September, to the number of a little less than fifteen thousand names. Investigation has since shown that sixteen thousand fictitious names were on the list, under cover of which swarms of repeaters and rounders "got in their fine work" on election-day. There is good reason to believe that the leaders depended on a reserve fraudulent vote, ranging from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand, to offset the Independent vote. Large rewards were offered by the combined Democratic and Independent committees for information leading to the arrest and conviction of election criminals; but these efforts were only partially successful. While they showed plainly the extent to which fraud, guided by unseen hands, was carried, and were the means of sending some of the lesser criminals to the penitentiary, they failed to catch and convict the men who were most responsible for these shameless assaults upon the purity of the ballot. But the most important results of the success of the Independent movement lay in the latent tendencies to reform which were stimulated to open activity.

The placing of a Democrat in the governor's chair has secured a veto upon much bad legislation which the Republican Legislature, obedient to Quay's dictation, gave the State at its last session, and has proved the direct means of bringing to light the systematic robbery of the city of Philadelphia through the frauds perpetrated by the mercantile appraisers. When, in connection with the crash of the Keystone and Spring Garden Banks, the gigantic thefts of Treasurer Bardsley saw the light, the treasurer's office was left vacant as its former occupant entered the penitentiary. Promptly Governor Pattison availed himself of the opportunity to place Mr. W. Redwood Wright, a business-man of aggressive honesty and courage, in that important office, although city councils disputed the governor's authority to make the appointment, claiming the right for themselves. The question was decided in the governor's favor by an appeal to the Supreme Court. Against cavil and criticism from the party newspaper press, and opposition from those whose interest in the public welfare should have inspired them to lend him every aid, Mr. Wright has steadily and successfully kept at his work of pursuing and bringing to justice the thieves. The evidence which he secured was so abundant and convincing, that the

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Republican district-attorney, Mr. Graham, has proceeded against certain accused persons, a hearing has been had, and they have given bail to answer the charges against them in court. The work of Treasurer Wright in exposing the frauds in connection with mercantile appraisement is steadily leading up to still more important results in showing the implication of the auditor-general's office with the convict Bardsley. The present auditor-general stands disgraced before the community for criminal negligence in failing to require of Bardsley the prompt deposit of State funds in the treasury at the periods prescribed by law; and circumstantial testimony of the strongest kind points to the conspiracy of his office with Bardsley in the misuse of State funds. Had the auditor-general and state-treasurer done their plain duty, at least the bulk of funds stolen from the State would have been saved. The City and State have been at the mercy of an organized band of robbers who have found it convenient to call themselves Republicans, but who have had their tools or their sympathizers in both political camps. No one, at this moment of writing, knows the whole truth, or just when or how the end will be reached. The community, sick with the pain and fever of violent disease, does not yet fully recognize the nature of its troubles; but it is working steadily toward health. What course must be followed to reach it? It is a momentous question, not alone for the sick City and the sick State under discussion, but for other American Cities and American States that are or shall be afflicted with the same disease. A few simple suggestions will be hazarded as a guide to the first steps in the pathway along which sound administration, both for Cities and States, must be reached.

1st, Questions of fundamental public morality, involving the public character of public men, and methods of administration, are vital, and should take precedence of all questions of party policy in which moral principles are not involved, or concerning which men may with perfect good faith hold opposite opinions.

2d, The spoils system, which is in essence the perversion of public offices within the civil service from their legitimate public use as the people's property, to pay for partisan or personal service, is wrong in theory, and in practice it is the stronghold of machine and boss politics. Destroy the system, and the strongest protection to "bossism" and its attendant evils will be broken up.

3d, Great cities are the citadels of machine politics. The government of cities is not on a sound basis until divorced from party

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control. Municipal government is wholly a business concern, and should be conducted, not for party benefit, but in the interest of its citizens. Every act of a municipal government should be viewed from that point of view, and from it approved or condemned. Put this theory into practice, and the citadel of the boss will be invaded and captured.

4th, To minimize the evils resulting from the existence of political parties, and to retain and develop the good, the community should have a strong body of independent voters, who will not ally themselves too closely with any political party, who are free from the suspicion of office-seeking or of having any personal axe to grind, and who are shrewd enough to see through machine sophistries. Such a body of independents is the third boy on the seesaw, whose weight added to either of the other two will send the remaining boy into the air.

5th, Let us keep local issues free from national issues, unless we are as stupid as the machine wants us to be. The question as to the best man for state or city treasury can be settled on its own merits, apart from the question of protection or free trade,—with which it is not concerned,—and it should be so settled.

6th, Complete the work of ballot reform, so that every obstacle shall be put in the way of fraud, and every encouragement be given to independent voting.

But neither can these lines here indicated be followed to success, nor any others which the wisdom of the public may substitute for them or add to them, without the creation of a far deeper sense of personal responsibility in public duty than now exists in the minds of American citizens. The cry of the reformer alone on the watch-tower may awaken, but of itself it cannot save, the sleeping city. The citizens themselves with arms in their hands must do that. Democratic institutions are doubtless the last and best expression of the world's civilization; but there is no breath of life in their nostrils, unless living men, who are the soul of institutions, have the wisdom, the virtue, and the patience to guide their course. Are we willing and able to do this work of administrative reform? That question, the greatest that confronts us, must be answered by the people themselves.

HERBERT WELSH.

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REGULATION OF THE LOBBY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

At the end of the session of 1890, a special committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, appointed to investigate certain charges relative to the methods adopted to secure the passage of an elevated-railroad bill, closed its report, which was drafted by the present writer, in the following language:—

"The Committee feels that the time has passed for mere denunciation of corporations or individuals for employing lobbyists to assist in securing legislation, or of lobbyists themselves for consenting to sell their services in this respect. While a large portion of the public, unfamiliar with the conditions of legislation, may believe that it is possible altogether to eliminate the lobby as a factor in connection with it, the Committee is thoroughly convinced, from the experience of its members and from the facts which exist in connection with other legislative bodies, from Congress down, that it is entirely impossible to do away with the lobby, and to remove its influence in promoting or opposing legislation. It is impossible to prevent people from having free access to their legislators at the State House, or to exclude from the State House those who are supposed to be engaged in the business of lobbying. Nor, if this could be done, would it have any appreciable effect in mitigating the evils complained of. A legislator is neither in the position of a judge or a juror, and it is neither possible nor desirable to isolate him from those who seek to impress their views upon him. It is not only the right of the citizen to have free access to legislators, but it is the duty of legislators to receive information, and to listen to arguments which are laid before them.

"While, therefore, an effort to abolish lobbying would, in the opinion of the Committee, be utterly vain and futile, it believes that the evils connected with it could be very considerably diminished by making the members of the lobby responsible where they are now entirely irresponsible, and by insuring publicity where secrecy is now maintained. Past experience in legislation has shown in many notable instances that evils which cannot be directly done away with by statute can be largely diminished by turning on the fullest light of publicity.

"To say that there are no proper functions in connection with promoting or opposing the passage of legislation, is to bring an indictment not only against corporations managed by men who have an honorable reputation in the community, and other applicants for legislation who have employed these influences, but also against the members of present and past Legislatures.

"The Committee believes that the time has come to frankly recognize the existence of a body of men who make their livelihood by watching and seeking to influence legislation, and to endeavor to secure in the future the conduct of this business under conditions which will favor responsibility and publicity. The

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Committee believes that there is reason to expect that this will result in the employment of a more reputable class of men, in confining such employment within smaller limits, and in removing some of the evils which are necessarily incident to the present condition of things."

The bill recommended by this committee was passed by the Legislature in its closing hours, and stands upon the statute-book of Massachusetts as chapter four hundred and fifty-six of the Acts of 1890. It became a law largely because of the public demand that something should be done; and a majority of the members voted for it in the belief that it was, at any rate, an experiment worth trying. After the experience of a single session, it can at least be said that the act has so far justified its passage that no movement for its repeal has come from any quarter; and the only amendment in its terms made by the Legislature of the present year was one which considerably broadened its scope. The principles upon which it is based are so novel in American legislation, that a brief account of its provisions, and of their practical operation during the last session of the Legislature, should be of general interest.

The purpose of the act, as given in its title, is "to regulate the employment of legislative counsel and agents and to provide for returns of legislative expenses." The full text of the first two sections is as follows, the words in brackets having been stricken out by the amendment above referred to:—

"SECTION 1.—Every person, private or public corporation or association, which employs, or agrees to employ, any person to act as counsel or agent to promote or oppose in any manner, directly or indirectly, the passage by the General Court of any legislation [affecting the pecuniary interests of any individual, association, or private or public corporation as distinct from those of the whole people of the Commonwealth], or to act in any manner as a legislative counsel or agent in connection with any [such] legislation, shall, within one week of the date of such employment or agreement therefor, cause the name of the person so employed, or agreed to be employed, to be entered upon a legislative docket, as hereinafter provided; and it shall also be the duty of the person so employed, or agreed to be employed, to enter, or cause to be entered, his name upon such docket.

"SECT. 2.—The sergeant-at-arms of the General Court shall prepare and keep two legislative docket-books in conformity with the provisions of this act. One of such books shall be known as the docket of legislative counsel before committees, and the other as the docket of legislative agents. In the docket of legislative counsel shall be entered the names of counsel employed to appear at a public hearing before a committee of the General Court for the purpose of making an argument or examining witnesses, and also the names of any regular legal counsel of corporations or associations who act or advise in relation to legislation; in the docket of legislative agents shall be entered the names of all

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agents employed in connection with any legislation [included within the terms of section one of this act], and of all persons employed for other purposes who render any services as such agents. In such dockets there shall be entered the name and business address of the employer, the name, residence, and occupation of the person employed, the date of the employment or agreement therefor, the length of time that the employment is to continue, if such time can be determined, and the special subject or subjects of legislation, if any, to which the employment relates."

Section 3 provides for the entry of special subjects of legislation, as they arise, opposite the names of the persons employed in connection with them.

"No person shall be allowed to appear as counsel before any committee of the General Court, or either branch thereof, in respect to any legislation [coming within the terms of section one of this act], unless his name duly appears upon the docket of legislative counsel as employed in respect to such matter."

No person or corporation can employ any legislative counsel or agent, and no person can act in such capacity, unless an entry is duly made on the docket.

"No person shall be employed as a legislative counsel or agent for a compensation dependent in any manner upon the passage or defeat of any proposed legislation, or upon any other contingency connected with the action of the General Court, or of either branch thereof, or of any committee thereof. No person whose name is entered upon the docket of legislative counsel shall render any service as legislative counsel or agent otherwise than by appearing before a committee, as aforesaid, and by doing work properly incident thereto, or by giving legal advice in the case of regular legal counsel of corporations or associations, unless his name is also entered on the docket of legislative agents."

Section 4 provides that any legislative counsel or agent may be disbarred from legislative practice for cause shown, and after a hearing, and that he cannot be employed in such capacity for three years after such disbarment.

Section 6 provides for the return of expenses as follows:—

"Within thirty days of the prorogation of the General Court, every person, private or public corporation or association, whose name appears upon the legislative dockets of the session as employing any legislative counsel or agent, shall render to the secretary of the Commonwealth a full, complete, and detailed statement, sworn to before a justice of the peace by the person making the same, or in the case of a corporation by its president or treasurer, of all expenses paid or incurred by such person, private or public corporation or association, in connection with the employment of legislative counsel or agents, or in connection with promoting or opposing in any manner, directly or indirectly, the passage by the General Court of any legislation coming within the terms of section one of this act."

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Violations of the provisions of the act are punishable by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than one thousand dollars. It is made the duty of the attorney-general, upon information, to bring prosecutions for such violations. Municipal corporations are subject to the provisions of the act, equally with private corporations, when they employ any one other than their regular counsel or solicitors.

It will be noticed that this act is very comprehensive in its terms, and that as it now stands it includes all employment whatsoever, in connection with any legislation. Even if such employment only extends over a period during which the Legislature is not in session, even if the person employed never goes near the State House, or comes into contact with a single member, the law still requires registration on the docket. As soon as one session closes, the dockets are opened for the next. Experience in this State has shown the necessity of making an act of this character very broad in its scope. In 1887 an investigating committee of the State Senate had recommended the passage of a somewhat similar act; but, following the example of English legislation, it undertook to draw a sharp line between private and public bills, and its provisions only related to employment in connection with the former. When the present act was drafted, the same idea was followed to the extent indicated by the words contained in brackets in Section 1. But the attempt to draw any distinction in this respect between private and public, or special and general, legislation, has now been abandoned; and, if any other States ever copy our act, they would do well to follow our example in this respect. Even as a matter of legal definition, it is not easy to frame a satisfactory distinction between private and public acts, and under any definition there will be room for doubt in particular cases. But a more serious objection to making any such discrimination in connection with the employment of legislative agents, arises from the fact that much important legislation which under any definition would be classed as public, affects private pecuniary interests, and may really be promoted or opposed by their agents. On the other hand, some legislation that would be classed as private affects large public interests. Two examples may serve to make this more clear. At the session of 1890 there were two important measures under consideration. One was a bill to allow cities and towns to manufacture, and furnish to their inhabitants, gas and electricity: the other was a bill to allow the street-railway company which operates all the lines

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in Boston to build an elevated railroad. The first would probably have been classed as a public bill, yet it seriously threatened the interests of the gas and electric-light companies, and they were opposing it with all their power. The second was undoubtedly a private bill, but everybody recognized that it involved important public interests; and both in the press and among the people it received much support on public grounds. For the purpose now under consideration, therefore, it is unwise to attempt any separation between different kinds of legislation. The only test should be that of employment, which involves, of course, the present or future payment of some consideration to the person employed. The Legislature and the public should be informed of the names of all persons who are working for pay in connection with legislation of any description.

The distinction which the act draws between legislative counsel and legislative agents is an important one, and requires some explanation. In any legislation of this character, it is highly desirable not to discourage lawyers of character and standing from appearing in legislative proceedings; yet it is clearly impossible to make any division between members of the bar and other persons, much less to confine legislative practice to the former: in the first place, because a legislative body is of such a popular nature that it would not be proper to distinguish between lawyers and laymen, and, in the second place, because some of the most expert lobbyists are also members of the legal profession. After much consideration, it was decided, that, while some distinction must be made between the counsel who presented his case publicly to a committee and the agent who buttonholed its members in private, this distinction must be based entirely upon the character of the service rendered. The lawyer who enters his name only on the list of legislative counsel, therefore, gives notice that he is employed merely to appear before a committee, and to do work "properly incident thereto;" and the provision of the law which forbids him to do any other work, unless he is also entered on a separate docket as a legislative agent, in reality protects him by defining his status. Heretofore the lawyer who appeared before a committee might be charged with employing outside personal solicitation as well, or might even be expected by his client to render service of this character. While there has been a little complaint by some lawyers at the registration requirement, others have recognized that it placed them on a better footing, and there has been no strong objection offered to it: it certainly has not seemed to prevent lawyers of

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standing and ability from accepting legislative employment as much as formerly.

The act wisely leaves undefined the character of the services which may properly be rendered by a legislative agent. It would be manifestly impossible to make a list either of the things which he may do or of those which he may not do. This must be left to his own discretion or that of his employer, subject to the penalty of disbarment for any cause which the Legislature deems sufficient. The theory of the act is, that, if reasonable publicity can be insured, it will not be for the interest either of the agent or the principal to overstep the line which would be drawn by the average common sense of persons familiar with legislative proceedings. The lobby thrives upon secrecy. While a measure may be helped by the secret use of questionable means, it will be hurt by the disclosure of them. Under a law which aims at securing publicity, the opponents of a bill will be likely to watch for, and promptly expose, any proceedings which seem to be contrary either to the letter or the spirit of the statute; and the knowledge of this fact will tend to keep within proper bounds those who are concerned in promoting its passage. An interesting question has been raised as to whether this act supersedes decisions of the courts which have declared that contracts for lobbying are illegal, and that they cannot be recovered on. In a leading case in this State (that of Frost v. Belmont, 6 Allen's Reports, page 152), our Supreme Court used the following language:—

"Persons may no doubt be employed to conduct an application to the Legislature, as well as to conduct a suit at law, and may contract for and receive pay for their services in preparing documents, collecting evidence, making statements of fact, or preparing and making oral or written arguments, provided all these are used, or designed to be used, before the Legislature, or some committee thereof as a body; but they cannot with propriety be employed to exert their personal influence with individual members, or to labor in any form privately with such members, outside of the legislative halls."

The present act certainly recognizes that there is some legitimate field of employment in connection with legislation, other than in rendering the services enumerated by the court. Any of these could be performed by a legislative counsel, and the provision for the employment of legislative agents is a recognition that there are other proper services. Whether the court would now hold that the legislative sanction given to agents allows them to use arguments with individual members for or against a pending measure, is a question which the writer will not attempt to answer. The criticism which some law-

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yers have made, that the act legalizes lobbying, which the courts had declared to be illegal, is effectually disposed of by calling attention to the concrete fact that the lobby is an established institution: whether its contracts for services are tainted with illegality or not is of no practical consequence. The very nature of the business is such, that it is based upon a relation of confidence between principal and agent; and probably no lobbyist has ever been deterred from accepting employment by the fact that he could not recover for his services in court. It should also be borne in mind that there is a branch of service for which agents have been largely employed which does not involve any attempt to influence members personally, so that the court would not be obliged to hold that such attempts were legalized by the mere recognition of agents. Many corporations have long been obliged, as a matter of self-protection, to employ persons familiar with legislative procedure to keep them informed as to the introduction and progress of legislation affecting their interests. No one familiar with the facts will deny that service of this character is not only perfectly legitimate, but is necessary to the proper conduct of some kinds of corporate business; yet it cannot well be performed by the regular officers or employees of a corporation, and the only safe way is to place it in the hands of some careful agent skilled in that particular line of work. Sometimes there will be a score of subjects of legislation introduced affecting a single corporation. Each of these must be carefully followed by its agent; and he must keep track of the references to committees, see that hearings are given in all cases where they are necessary, and that his corporation is duly notified of them. It has been disclosed in investigations that the services of many successful lobbyists were confined almost entirely to this line, although they allowed their employers to suppose that they were doing much more.

Before coming to the subject of the practical operation of the act during the year that it has been on the statute-book, a brief account of the circumstances that led up to its passage may be of some interest. During the last four years there has been much discussion in Massachusetts of the evils arising from the lobby. This began with a legislative investigation, in 1887, of the means adopted to secure the passage of a town-division bill. It was shown that some twenty thousand dollars had been spent in order to secure influence which would be of weight with the members of the Legislature. In the language of the Report of the Committee of the House,—

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"This money was distributed among men who, from various causes, were supposed to be able to control, or be influential in controlling, the minds and the votes of individual members of the Legislature by personal solicitation. Some of these men were supposed to have acquired their influence by their intelligence and high character, some by their official position, some by their party standing and position, some by their social influence and good-fellowship, some by their relations or standing in organizations to which such members belonged, and by various ways not disclosed."

As there was a good deal of popular feeling against the division, some public indignation was aroused; and although, after the report of the committee, the bill passed through its subsequent stages, it was vetoed by Governor Ames, upon the ground that, whatever its merits might be, the executive disapproval of the methods disclosed must be expressed by withholding his signature. This veto was sustained by the Legislature. The report of the Committee of the Senate, as above stated, recommended the passage of a bill requiring the registration of counsel and agents; but there was little effort made to pass it.

In the presidential campaign of 1888 the subject dropped out of sight; but, during his unsuccessful campaign for the governorship in 1889, Mr. Russell, as the Democratic candidate, dwelt considerably upon the evils whose existence had been disclosed by this investigation, and criticised the party in power for having failed to do any thing to diminish or suppress the lobby evil, which had received but a slight check as the result of the investigation of 1887, and was almost as flourishing as ever in the next year.

During the legislative session of 1890 the company which controlled the street-railway system of Boston made a strenuous attempt to secure the passage of a bill giving it authority to build an elevated railroad. This measure provoked strong opposition, and it was well understood that equally strong exertions were being made to secure its passage. Near the close of the session—after the bill had passed one branch, and was on its last stage in the other—a member of the House, who has since been elected to Congress, made charges against the methods employed in carrying the bill to the point that it had then reached. Committees of investigation were appointed by the two Houses; and the House committee, after making a full inquiry into the matter (holding seventeen sessions extending over ten days, and examining over fifty witnesses), found in its report that the charge that the railway company "had maintained a large corps of lobbyists and legislative counsel, and made expenditures through them and its officers beyond any legitimate purpose in securing legislation," was sus-

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tained by the evidence. The total number of legislative counsel and lobbyists employed was found to be about thirty-five. The total amount of the expenses paid or contracted was found to be some thirty-three thousand dollars, and there was probably half as much more still to be paid where specific contracts had not been made. There was a decided difference of opinion—not only in the Legislature, but among members of the investigating committee, in the press, and among the public at large—as to whether the disclosures of the investigation, which had not shown any actual corruption of members, required the rejection of the bill. After a somewhat bitter contest, however, it was finally passed, and went to the governor. While it was in his hands, the same contest was renewed, and the question whether the disclosures of the investigation would warrant him in vetoing it was much discussed. The leading newspapers were in favor of the signing of the bill; but its opponents urged that their course was influenced by the fact, which had been disclosed during the investigation, that the railway company had paid, since the opening of the session, seventy-five hundred dollars for printing speeches and other advertising matter in their columns. The bill was finally signed by Governor Brackett, and, although the measure itself had not been made a party issue, his action in giving it his sanction, after the disclosures of the investigation, was taken up in some quarters as an argument against his re-election. The bill for the regulation of the lobby was passed with very little discussion almost at the same time as the elevated-railroad bill, and the two received the governor's signature together.

During the campaign of 1890, Mr. Russell continued his attack upon the Republican party for its failure to suppress the lobby evil, and used the findings of the recent investigating committee to still further enforce the argument which he had drawn from the facts disclosed by the investigation of 1887. While the tariff was the overshadowing issue, the subject of the lobby received considerable attention, and was a prominent feature in the canvass. The arguments of Mr. Russell, by implication if not directly, cast a reflection upon Governor Brackett for failing to follow the example set by Governor Ames, in 1887, and to veto the bill without regard to its merits. Finally, Governor Brackett took the stump in his own defence, declared that he did not think it within his proper constitutional function to veto the bill because he disapproved of the methods of its promoters, and asked Mr. Russell to answer the direct question, whether he would have vetoed the bill if he had been in his place. The latter

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replied at once with an emphatic "Yes," which seemed to command the general assent of the masses of the people, although provoking considerable difference of opinion among constitutional lawyers.

In his Inaugural Message, sent to the Legislature before the law of 1890 had gone into operation, Governor Russell devoted some attention to the lobby, and after a forcible statement of its character and methods, and of the evils connected with it, he used the following language:—

"It is far easier to state the evil than to suggest the remedy. Clearly it is impossible and improper to prevent a constituent or any other person from having the freest access to a legislator. This constitutional right guaranteed to the people gives opportunity to the lobby to do its work. Prevention by non-intercourse is therefore impossible. Prevention by publicity is possible; and I would suggest for your consideration, whether a remedy may not be found in this direction, by making it easier than it now is publicly to investigate the methods used, and money spent, on pending legislation; and also by giving power to some proper officer, before a measure finally becomes law, to demand under oath a full and detailed statement as to these matters. The fear of publicity, and through it of defeat, may stop improper practices by making them worse than useless. Your immediate predecessors, with an earnest desire to cure the evil, and believing in the remedy of publicity, passed an act requiring all counsel and agents employed by any special interest on matters pending before the Legislature to be registered, and a statement under oath of all expenses incurred to be made within thirty days after the adjournment of the Legislature. I believe that good will come from this act, if fairly and thoroughly enforced, but that it falls short of being a sufficient remedy. It makes public the names of all persons employed, but not the acts of the lobbyist. It makes public the expenses incurred, but too late to affect the legislation for which they were incurred."

The governor further suggested that rules for the earlier introduction of business and its more systematic conduct, and requiring suggested legislation to be reduced to a specific form, and the fullest possible notice to be given to the public of the exact status of every matter pending, would tend to restrict the employment of the lobby; and he also urged, as a more fundamental remedy, the passage of general laws to do away with the necessity of so much special legislation.

Governor Russell thus gives his support to the principles embodied in the Act of 1890, although he believes that further provisions are desirable. His suggestion as to greater facility for investigation is a general one, and it is not easy to see how it could be successfully carried out in practice. In regard to the statement of expenses before a measure becomes a law, there are also some practical obstacles in the way, one of which arises from the difficulty of determining, where an

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agent is employed to take charge of a number of matters, what part of his compensation should be charged to each.

In conclusion, the practical working of the law during this year's session of the Legislature remains to be noticed. Some persons had the idea that it would either abolish altogether, or greatly decrease, the employment of lobbyists; and they were naturally disappointed when they saw the old familiar faces in the corridors of the State House and in committee rooms, and when things appeared to be going on much as formerly. On the other hand, those who predicted that the law would not be complied with, and that it would soon become a dead letter, were disappointed in their expectations. The writer can say for himself, as one of the framers of the act, that it has worked about as he believed that it would. It is not a measure which aims at changing human nature, or working any very radical reform. It recognizes that lobbying has been, is, and will be, a settled fact in connection with legislation; that there are certain legitimate services which can be rendered by persons who are generally known as "lobbyists," and it seeks to secure the conduct of this business under conditions which favor responsibility and publicity. There has been a general disposition on all sides to give the law a fair trial, and comply with its requirements. The result is, on the whole, encouraging. There were during the session some 225 entries on the docket of legislative counsel, and some 50 on the docket of legislative agents; but the number of different persons employed was much smaller, as many were entered in several matters. Within thirty days of the close of the session, 179 individuals and corporations had duly filed their return of expenses, as required by the act. Owing to unfamiliarity with the law, quite a number of returns were not filed within this time, and this caused some newspaper comment; but in every one of these cases the returns were subsequently filed in proper form.

Perhaps the most noticeable feature in the operation of the act was the extent to which it cut down the employment of agents by the large corporations which have hitherto been their best customers. Most of the important railroads of the State entered no agents at all, leaving their interests to be looked out for by their regular counsel. The street-railway company which had employed some thirty-five counsel and agents the year before, only entered one agent besides their regular counsel, although they had large interests at stake in connection with legislation. It was clearly shown, not only that the large corporations were keenly sensitive to public opinion, but that they were

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glad of the protection which the law afforded them against demands for employment. There are men of strict integrity in their calling, even in the lobby, who would consider it unprofessional to demand employment; but, as Governor Russell well pointed out in his Inaugural Message, there are others who "extort money as the price of their silence or unnecessary assistance." An unregulated lobby inevitably becomes, to a considerable extent, an agency for the levy of blackmail from those who are unfortunate enough to have financial interests at stake. Under the old condition of things, corporations often did not dare to refuse such demands. It is certainly a strong point in favor of our present act, that it seems to have restricted so greatly the opportunities of levying blackmail.

Another encouraging indication may be cited. There was considerable interest over certain proposed changes in the liquor law, and a strong association of liquor-dealers employed counsel to appear for them. Under former practices, a number of lobbyists would naturally have been employed to promote the legislation desired, and applications for employment were made as usual; but these applications were met with a refusal, and the interests involved were left exclusively in the hands of counsel. The change in the law which was desired was passed after a strong fight against it. Under the old conditions, charges of the use of improper influences would probably have been made, but it was a noticeable fact that there were no intimations of the sort; and the case of the association was undoubtedly helped by the fact that no lobbyists were known to be in its employ.

The writer does not wish to be understood as claiming that a measure which has thus far worked well in Massachusetts can be adopted to advantage by other States, without regard to dissimilarity of conditions. Legislation of this character is peculiarly dependent for its success upon public opinion, and, where public opinion is not prepared to accept the principles embodied in our act, there would be little use in placing it on the statute-book; but, where the conditions are somewhat similar to those which have prevailed in this State, the attention of students of public affairs may well be directed to the question of whether the evils of the lobby cannot at least be diminished by its regulation.

JOSIAH QUINCY.

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ENGLISH UNIVERSITY LIFE FOR WOMEN.

THE request made to me to write an account of the Cambridge colleges for women was very pleasant to me: at the same time, it seemed a difficult task. The prospect of addressing an American audience could not but be pleasing to one who has so many early associations with the country, from having lived there in youth and had early friends there, and who has had friends since in the many Americans who have studied at Newnham, and who still come back to visit the college when they cross the Atlantic. There is still another tie, in the affection and interest with which the poems of my brother, Arthur Hugh Clough, are recognized in America. All these memories of the past, and connections with the present time, have made it difficult and formidable to give some account of this work in which much of my life has been engaged, and of what seems to me to be its results; but I feel that I am addressing an audience who will be considerate, and not too critical.

We will begin by saying something of the students before they enter college. They are often educated at school while living at home; but many are taught at home privately by teachers not always very well qualified. Some of our students, often among the best, are older women who have been teachers either in schools or in families. These come with very definite ideas of what they want to do, and are very anxious to improve themselves; and they often benefit greatly. Being used to work, it is not a hardship; but it is a pleasant change to be studying on their own account and for their own satisfaction, instead of teaching others. They are, moreover, very useful among the younger students, and, being joined with them in their work, they can the more easily help them. Many of our students want developing. They come from quiet homes and large families, where they have been left to themselves in a great measure, and have not always found congenial occupations or companions. Then there are some well-trained students who are fully prepared by their school-work or private teaching to enter on the studies of the university. But there is still much to be desired in the classical and mathematical prepara-

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tion. Hardly any women come up with an adequate knowledge of the classics, especially of Greek; and few have mastered a sufficient number of subjects in mathematics.

The age for entering college at Newnham and Girton is fixed at eighteen. This is the lowest age: there is no limit upwards. The students in both colleges are required to pass an entrance examination; but both colleges accept as an alternative several well-known examinations. At Oxford I believe the minimum age is seventeen.

When the students enter college, they have each their room assigned to them. At Girton they have two rooms, each with furniture: at Newnham they have usually only one room with furniture, but the bed is made into a couch by day, and covered with chintz. The expense at Newnham is less than at Girton, and the college is close to Cambridge and the university buildings.

One of the first occupations of the new students, who usually come in the October term and a day or two before the others, is the fitting up and arranging of their rooms. They usually add an additional table or chairs, curtains, pictures and ornaments, cups and saucers for tea and coffee parties, and a kettle; for the students have fires in their rooms. Of course the expense of these additions varies according to the means of the students. I am told that those who have to study economy can pay their way with under a hundred pounds a year, including college-fees, book clubs, and small expenses. The natural sciences tripos is the most expensive to work for, as the students have to pay three guineas a year extra fees for laboratory expenses.

The new students are all interviewed, soon after their arrival, by the principal or vice-principal of their respective halls, and then by the lecturer at the head of the department of study which they have selected; and then a course of study is laid out for them in one of the subjects which have been chosen for the final examinations by the university boards of study. These subjects are classics, mathematics, divinity, moral sciences, natural sciences, history, law, mediæval and modern languages, and Semitic languages. This last has not been taken by any woman. Divinity and law have had one woman student each. There are a few at Newnham who still confine their attention to the groups of the higher local examination. The vice-chancellor grants a certificate for success in three of these groups, and this can be obtained by two years' study, or even less.

Americans who are graduates of one of the American colleges, or who can bring evidence of having passed some examination of good

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standing, are admitted without passing one of the prescribed entrance examinations; and students from various parts of Europe have the same advantage.

The usual course of the day at college begins with prayers and breakfast, lasting from eight till nine o'clock. Lectures often begin at nine, and go on at intervals till one o'clock, or in some cases till two. Of course, students do not go in every morning to lectures. They work alone, or, at Newnham, till their rooms are ready, in the libraries and common sitting-rooms of their halls. No student will have more than two or three lectures daily, and sometimes for one or two days in the week none, but then they have preparation. Thus in the early morning there is much going to and fro to the lectures, some of which are held in the Newnham and Girton lecture-rooms, and many more in the university rooms or lecture-rooms in the men's colleges, where the women have special seats.

The natural science students, after attending lectures on their special subjects with the men, retire to their own laboratories. A few advanced students work in the university laboratories. There are several women lecturers and demonstrators in chemistry and other branches; but both at Girton and Newnham some help in the laboratories is given by men.

The students assemble for luncheon at Newnham, in their respective halls, between quarter-past twelve and half-past two: at Girton, between one and three. The afternoon is devoted to walks and games,—lawn-tennis, fives, and in winter hockey, which takes the place of lawn-tennis when the weather is very cold or uncertain. The gymnasium is also used in winter. These games are managed by clubs; and the members elect a president, and a committee and secretary. These authorities make regulations about the courts, etc., which have to be strictly kept. At Newnham, where there are three halls, much excitement is kept up by contests between members of the different halls. Cups are contended for, the victors bearing off the trophy to decorate the dining-room of their own hall.

Some of the students go for drives, and a few ride together occasionally with a riding-master. The walkers go into the country or the town where they may have visits to pay or shopping to do. Sometimes the sights of Cambridge, which are not a few, are visited. In fact, they can hardly go anywhere in the town without passing objects of interest,—the backs of the colleges shaded with trees, the picturesque bridges crossing the Cam, and leading through avenues of

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trees to the stately colleges, which rise up amidst green meadows or gardens guarded by ancient ivy-covered walls, and flanked by the slowly moving stream. Such are the haunts of our students,—haunts which are endeared and made honorable by the memories of the departed founders and benefactors, as well as of those learned men who have studied and advanced knowledge and true religion, and of some who are still with us. Surely our students must feel at some time in their lives that it has been good for them to have been here.

The following are the words of a former Newnham student:—

> "O fairest of all fair places,
> Sweetest of all sweet towns,
> With the birds and the grayness and greenness,
> And the men in caps and gowns."

The hours speed on; and the walkers, those who are driving, and those who are at games, come in and gather in the halls, where, at Newnham, between three and half-past four, tea is served. After this, some work for an hour or two hours before dinner, at half-past six. Some arrange their work so as to be able to attend the service at Kings College Chapel at five, a quarter of an hour's walk from Newnham. At Girton, tea is taken to each student in her room. After dinner, from seven to eight there are meetings of clubs and societies, a musical society, a political club in the form of a parliament with a speaker, government and opposition. There the political subjects of the day are discussed, bills are brought in, and either passed or rejected. The students learn in this way to speak, to bear opposition and vehemence without quarrelling, to see that people cannot all think alike; for when all is over there is friendliness. There are also literary clubs, where poetry is read; an historical club, where a paper on some historical subject is read once a term; a natural science club on the same plan; a modern languages club, where some French or German play is read. Once a week there is dancing in the large hall, where the students from the three halls assemble. Tea comes about eight, and then the students disperse to work till ten or later.

Of course, every student does not belong to all these societies. Each selects those she prefers, and among them generally something connected with her work.

Twice a term in the winter, and once in the May term, there is a more formal debate. The subject is chosen, two set speeches are made, and then the president of the debating society declares the subject open to discussion by the assembly, which consists of the body of

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students. They are allowed to invite a few friends and the great hall is usually filled with about three hundred people. The students decorate the hall with flowers, and gay curtains and screens; and the sight is very pleasing and lively. After the debate has gone on for about an hour and a half, the voting is taken and the decision is announced. The victorious party cheers, and the speakers on both sides receive the congratulations of their friends. The hall is cleared, and tea brought; and dancing follows. Before eleven o'clock the whole company disperse to their homes and to their respective halls.

Once in two or three years an inter-collegiate debate takes place between the two colleges of Girton and Newnham, when usually the greater part of the students, and many of their friends, assemble in the hall of one of the colleges. The two presidents preside, and two vice-presidents and secretaries read and take the minutes.

Lawn-tennis is also an occasion for meetings between the two colleges. In the Easter term, a match is played between the two best from each college, and in the Lent term also, there are contests.

The Girton students once acted a Greek play, the "Electra," very successfully; and they do a good deal of acting, I believe, among themselves. A good many of the students of both colleges belong also to the University Musical Society, and attend the weekly choral practices conducted by Professor C. V. Stanford; and many more go to the society's concerts. For social amusement among themselves, the students have coffee-parties in their rooms after luncheon, tea-parties in the afternoon, or after-dinner and cocoa parties at night, after ten o'clock.

The principal and vice-principals see the students daily at meals, which are taken in common; and they always invite six or eight to sit at their tables, for at Newnham small tables are used. The resident lecturers and secretaries preside at separate tables. This gives an opportunity for intercourse in a friendly way. In the evening the principal invites a few to her room to tea; but the vice-principals go into the halls, and generally the resident lecturers also. Being thus on friendly terms with the students, they are able to advise them easily and informally, a good tone is kept up, and the discipline of the college is not felt as a strain. At Girton there is a distinct high table at which the mistress of the college presides, surrounded by the lecturers and other officials of the college, as at the men's colleges. The students sit below at long tables. This plan has the advantage of giving more complete relaxation, and freedom from restraint, to the mistress and the lecturers.

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The students of both colleges leave with regret, and often come back to Cambridge to revisit their old friends and old haunts. At Newnham we receive them into the halls, in our spare rooms; and in the long vacation they can reside again, and read in the library, and sit in the gardens. Old friends thus meet. We hear, too, what is going on; for letters come from various parts of the world,—from India, America, and Australia, from South Africa and Burma and Japan. In this way, the life and the interests of the college broaden, and our horizon extends.

At the same time, while there is a good deal of public life, yet there is a considerable amount of private life. Special friends keep together, and learn to know each other well, though there is much general sympathy and helpfulness in case of any sorrow or trouble. The great festival of the year is Commemoration Day, the 24th of February, the anniversary of the day when the Senate of Cambridge University passed the graces allowing women, on certain conditions, to enter for the same examinations as the men, viz., the various triposes; and to receive, instead of degrees, certificates, signed by the vice-chancellor of the university, testifying that they have passed these examinations, and giving them place in the class-list, in which they are compared with the men. On this day, at Newnham, the authorities of the college, the principal, vice-principals, and lecturers, with as many members of the council of the college as can be collected, dine together with the students in the large hall. Speeches are made, and the founders and benefactors of the college are duly remembered, and brought before the notice of the students. Those who have departed this life are not forgotten, nor are those who still carry on the work of the college.

It has grown into a custom, that on the Sunday evening before Commemoration Day the principal should relate to the students the history of the rise and growth and progress of the college, so that they may duly understand what the Commemoration means. The hall is decorated with flowers for the Commemoration dinner, and all the students wear flowers. After it is over, the rest of the evening is spent in dancing. Those who have left know that they will be remembered at least by some, and some groups of students in distant places keep the day together. It is the birthday of the college, when, as we may say, the university acknowledged and adopted it and its sister-college, Girton.

The advantages of being closely connected with the university are

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very great. There is the tradition of study; there is the track of past students. Teachers and libraries, laboratories and other appliances, are collected together, and make an atmosphere of student life. There is a standard of learning; and the learned from other countries combine in keeping it up, and raising it. Women have gradually been allowed to join in the studies, and a few are following on in the work of research. In an entirely separate college, this could not be so easily and naturally done. In a separate college, too, the women students would not be brought into connection with the ablest professors; for it is not likely that, at any rate for a long time, the best men would go to the women's college, and so the teaching would be inferior.

There may be advantages, too, in seeing what women can make of special studies. They may help men to view some points in different aspects; their delicacy of perception, of touch, and of handling, may be of service, though they may lack, in some cases, power and persistence. Men and women may accomplish more together than if kept apart in their work. Most likely there will always be a limited number of advanced women students, and these can surely be taught with the men. The lecturer will thus have larger classes, which will add to his interest in his work; and his labors will not be so severe as if he had to do the teaching twice over. In this larger number, too, he may find a greater number of thorough students.

The private studies can be carried on in the separate colleges of the men and women. It seems desirable, at any rate in science, that there should be some laboratories for the use of women, for at least a part of their work. For many reasons, too, it is much better that women should reside in separate colleges. Their lives will be much quieter and more composed, which is necessary for study. The ideal does appear to me to be a union of the women's colleges with the men's colleges in studies where it can be managed. In most cases, college life will only be for a time,—a preparation for the future, and work of some kind, either at home or in some profession or business. Women need to gain power, grasp of subjects, concentration, presence of mind. Surely some of the benefits of examinations are, that they oblige students to grasp the details of their special subjects; and to gain the power to express their knowledge, they must try to put it forth clearly and concisely, and this requires presence of mind and coolness. These qualities are all wanted in the business of life; and for that, knowledge, too, is valuable. They are the weapons of life

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with which we overcome difficulties, and clear a path before us. Then there comes culture, which is to clothe us as with a lovely garment. We should try, at least in part, to make our own the beautiful thoughts of the poets and the deeds of great heroes, and we should also not neglect any opportunities of learning about and seeing pictures and beautiful buildings, and seeing, if possible, something of the world. The desire for all this is fostered by much that is learned at college, by all that is going on in the university, and by occasional teaching in literature, art, and archæology; and in these ways an impulse is given to many interests not before awakened.

With our limited experience, we can so far point to some results. We have able lecturers, a great number of successful head-mistresses and teachers of schools, some secretaries and literary women, and many happy wives and mothers. Certainly there may be other paths for colleges, and different results. Why should there not be separate colleges in some places? In England we have Holloway; in America, Vassar, Wellesley, Bryn Mawr, and others; but even at these colleges there are men lecturers and professors, I believe. Then, too, there should always be colleges which both men and women may attend while living at home, for the saving of expense, on account of family circumstances, or of health; for all cannot live among great numbers.

In a separate college for women, music might be more studied, also drawing and designing, and other technical works, perhaps the making of jewelry and watches, fine embroidery, the painting of glass, and gardening. Teaching on some of these subjects might be got from the technical schools of Paris, of London, and of Germany. By this means something might be done to make new openings for the activities of women. We want new modes of life, for the educational line is very much filled up. Still, we should always endeavor to keep up the intercourse between men and women in their work, though it might be in a modified way. This union of work between men and women creates a new interest between them. They learn to understand each other's views and wants, to enter into each other's employments; and thus we may hope that antagonism between men and women will fade away.

With regard to the question of marriage it is difficult to say much. No doubt the fact that women have more interests will help to turn away their thoughts from that course of life, and make them more difficult to win and to satisfy; but may they not become better wives and mothers, wiser helpmeets and counsellors? Then, too, in

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the British Isles, marriage is difficult, and it is well that women should have opportunities for independent lives. The increasing desire for the comforts and conveniences of life has a good deal to do with disinclination for marriage. However, marrying goes on, even among Newnham and Girton students.

With regard to the question of health, it is often a subject of anxiety to the authorities of the colleges, and they have to use much watchful care. Some students come to college who have worked too much either at home or at school, and have exhausted themselves. Many feel the strain of the final examination, which is a severe test, lasting as it does in most triposes for five or six days of six hours' work. The mathematical tripos consists of three days of six hours, then an interval of eleven days, and then another three days of six hours. In the natural sciences tripos, the work is spread over a good many days, but with intervals, as the students do their practical work in detachments in the laboratories. The students are mostly fatigued at the end of the time, and some are disappointed; for it is very difficult to keep up to the work for so many days. Still they go away, with few exceptions, feeling that they have accomplished something, and they soon bloom out again.

It is pleasant to watch the students during their three years' course, to see how they develop with the new life and their new companions. Many who were weak grow strong. They form strong friendships; they develop great interest in their work; the beauty of Cambridge attracts them, and gives a charm to life. Then, besides their studies, there are the societies, the opportunities of reading a variety of books and of seeing people. They are only about nine weeks at a time away from home, so they are able to keep up their family relations very closely And these opportunities of forming new friends and new interests bring pleasure to the homes, and help to make up for the loss of the young people.

Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, who a couple of years ago published carefully compiled statistics of the health of the students in the four colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, came to the conclusion that their health did, on the whole, go down slightly while at college, but that it improved afterwards.

The examinations, no doubt, do try them; but it is difficult to insure very good work without them, though possibly they might be less severe. Those of our students who have done the best have worked from six to eight hours daily. Some work more. Those

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who go in for natural sciences often exceed this hour; but there is a great variety in the practical work.

I think there is considerable improvement among the students in this respect. They have learned how to manage their work, and they come better prepared. It would be well to encourage a year's residence, after the examinations are over, for reading and study. Miss Fawcett, a Newnham student who was placed above the senior wrangler in Part I. of the mathematical tripos in 1890, and in the more advanced work of Part II., in which the candidates are not placed in order, was in the first division of the first class, was one of those who never overworked, and whose average of hours was low,—not more, I believe, than six hours a day.

This long review of what goes on in the Cambridge women's colleges should now end. Their influence has been varied; they have had a great effect on the lives of women. As time goes on, they will learn what subjects, what careers, are most congenial; and, being in many ways less hampered than men by traditions, they may make for themselves new paths, and perhaps, with their keen vision, they may in some directions see farther.

We have much to be grateful for. Our friends at the University of Cambridge have been very kind and helpful to us, and have labored very hard for our interests, and we feel that what we most prize and value is our connection with the University.

ANNE J. CLOUGH.

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THE DEATH OF POLYGAMY IN UTAH.

YEARS after Joseph Smith founded the Mormon Church, he declared that the Almighty had revealed to him that polygamy was right, and he adopted it as a doctrine. He and some of his followers commenced the practice. But in obedience to public opinion, based upon the moral sense of the American people, and according to their own reason and conscience, I presume, our national law-makers in 1862 enacted a law defining plural marriage as a crime, and fixing the punishment. In 1882 they made another law, more stringent and comprehensive, defining and punishing unlawful cohabitation also as a crime. And in 1887 still another law was passed designed to be yet more stringent and effectual. The courts of the Territory of Utah began the enforcement of the two acts first mentioned in September, 1884, and of the last law as soon as it took effect. After more than thirteen hundred men had been sent to prison for their violation, Wilford Woodruff, the president of the Mormon Church, made and published an official declaration termed the "manifesto," in which is found the following language:—

"We are not teaching polygamy or plural marriage, nor permitting any person to enter upon its practice. . . . Inasmuch as laws have been enacted by Congress forbidding plural marriages, which laws have been pronounced constitutional by the court of last resort, I hereby declare my intention to submit to those laws and to use my influence with the members of the church over which I preside to have them do likewise. . . . And I now publicly declare that my advice to the Latter-day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land."

At the General Conference of the church on October 6, 1890, Lorenzo Snow, the oldest of the living apostles except President Woodruff, offered the following resolution:—

"I move that, recognizing Wilford Woodruff as the president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and the only man on earth at the present time who holds the keys of the sealing ordinances, we consider him fully authorized, by virtue of his position, to issue the manifesto which has been read in our hearing, and which is dated September 24, 1891; and that, as a church in General Conference assembled, we accept his declaration concerning plural marriage as authoritative and binding."

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At the time this resolution was adopted, George Q. Cannon, the first counsellor of the president, in explanation of their action with respect to the manifesto, among other things, said,—

"So far as I am concerned, I can say, that, of the men in the church who have endeavored to maintain this principle of plural marriage, I am one. In public and in private I have avowed my belief in it. . . . But a change has taken place. . . . After the occurrences of the past six years have been witnessed, . . . and upwards of thirteen hundred men have been incarcerated in prison, going there for various terms, from one month up to years, . . . the time came when, in the providence of God, it seemed necessary that something should be done to meet the requirements of the country, to meet the demands made upon us, and to save the people. President Woodruff and others of us have been appealed to hundreds of times to announce something. . . . But at no time has the Spirit seemed to indicate that this should be done. We have waited for the Lord to move in the matter; and on the 24th of September President Woodruff made up his mind that he would write something and he had the spirit of it. *We had prayed about it, and besought God repeatedly what to do. At that time the Spirit came upon him, and the document that has been read in your hearing was the result. I know that it was right,* much as it has gone against the grain with me in many respects, because many of you know the contest we have had upon this point. . . . Some have wondered, and said, 'Why did not his counsellors sign it? Why didn't others sign?' Well, I give you the reason,—because he is the only man on the earth that has this right, and he exercised it, and *he did this with approval of all of us* to whom the matter was submitted after he made up his mind, *and we sustained it; for we had made it a subject of prayer also that God would direct us.*"

At the same time President Woodruff said,—

"I want to say to all Israel that *the step which I have taken in issuing this manifesto has not been done without earnest prayer before the Lord.* I am about to go into the spirit-world like other men of my age. [He was then more than eighty.] . . . If we do our duty to one another, to our country, and to the Church of Christ, we will be justified when we go into the spirit-world. . . . I say to Israel, the Lord will never permit me, nor any other man who stands as the president of this church, to lead you astray. . . . If I were to attempt that, the Lord would remove me out of my place, and he will any other man who attempts to lead the children of men astray from the oracles of God and from their duty."

I have made these quotations to show that the president of the church advised its members to obey the law prohibiting polygamy and unlawful cohabitation; that the advice was given after prayer before the Lord, as he and his first counsellor said, and that they also said the manifesto was written and the advice given when the spirit of the Lord was upon its author; that the church declared he was the only person having the authority to give the advice, and that it was binding upon all its members; that after prayer it was approved by the

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first counsellor and other high officers before it was submitted to the conference; and that he declared he knew it was right. All this must be taken as equivalent to the declaration that the manifesto was the expression of the Almighty by means of the Spirit, and that it should be regarded by Mormons as the will of God so manifested to Woodruff, and declared by him to all the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In effect, the manifesto is declared to be a revelation by means of supernatural power. It and the expressions of the president and his first counsellor, and the resolution and the circumstances attending them, are more significant and solemn to the mind of the Mormon than to some of us who have but little or no faith in the interposition of Infinite Wisdom and Power in supernatural ways, or to a great many others who do believe in supernatural manifestations of Power and Wisdom, but do not believe that the Lord communicates his will especially to the Mormon.

The Latter-day Saints, like the members of other churches, are usually sincere. During a period of nearly six years before the action of the church above shown, it became my duty to sentence several hundred Mormons who had been convicted from time to time of polygamy or unlawful cohabitation. In the beginning it appeared probable that a large number of men, law-abiding aside from their polygamous practices, would be imprisoned under the law. Believing that the object of the law was the protection of society from the evil effect of the crimes defined in it, I determined to take into consideration, before sentence, any promise that I might believe made in good faith by the defendant to obey the law. I came to this determination in the hope that the example of the man in making the promise before the public, and his subsequent obedience, would be as effectual for the purpose aimed at by the law as severe punishment. To that end, I always asked the person to be sentenced to make the promise. During the two or three first years, I suspended sentence on such as made the promise, and liberated them. But, if the promise was not made, the defendant in unlawful cohabitation cases was sentenced to confinement in the penitentiary for six months, and to pay a fine of three hundred dollars—the maximum punishment in that class of cases. Greater punishment was imposed in polygamy cases. A few at first agreed to obey the law, and were liberated; but afterwards nearly all refused, saying generally that the doctrines of their church sanctioned the practice, and that they considered those doctrines binding. After sentence, the prisoners would pass out of the

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court-room, in the custody of the officer, to the penitentiary, followed sometimes by a distressed wife and children. Some wore the air of martyrs, while others appeared very meek. The immediate effects of the law often appeared very sad, and, to justify it, it was necessary to look away, and ahead to a social system with a family consisting of one husband and one wife and their children, and the affections that arise from such relations.

But the next morning after the manifesto was issued, it became my duty to sentence several men who had been convicted of violating this same law. They were asked, as usual, if they would obey it, and they all answered unhesitatingly that they would. Among these men was a bishop who had been sentenced before for a violation of the same law, and who had refused then to make any promise. I asked him if he had changed his mind as to whether polygamy was right, and he said that he had. I then asked him when and by what the change was induced. He answered, that he changed his mind when the church changed its doctrine, and that he had changed because he believed that it would not be right, after the manifesto, to enter into polygamy, or to practise unlawful cohabitation. Since then I have examined many more—probably more than a hundred—who came before me for sentence, or who were applicants for admission to citizenship, and they have universally said that they would obey the law, and when asked, would say that they would regard it as wrong to violate the doctrines of their church. Some have said that they regarded polygamy as legally wrong after the courts had declared the law against it constitutional and valid, but that they did not believe it religiously or morally wrong until the appearance of the manifesto. By that action I am convinced that the Mormon Church abandoned polygamy, and that it will never adopt it again in the United States.

There was in this Territory a political organization, composed of Mormons and those who sympathized with them, known as the "People's" party. It, of course, always nominated and voted for men of its own party. It was also termed the "Church" party. To oppose this was an organization made up of non-Mormons, and it was known as the "Liberal" party. It was opposed to the church and the party representing it. The Mormons were asked, "Why not disband your party and join the Republican or the Democratic party, and divide upon national party lines, if you do not insist on church rule?" The territorial committee of that party and the various county committees were called together, and they adopted resolutions declaring the party

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disbanded; and its members were advised to divide on party lines according to their convictions. The leaders in the organization of the Democratic party of the Territory were mostly non-Mormons, and an organization was soon effected; but the organization of the Republican party of the Territory was strenuously opposed by men of the Liberal party who believed in Republican principles. This was particularly so in Salt Lake City. When the election was held in August last, the Republican organization was very imperfect; and the result was, that the Democrats polled about fourteen thousand votes, the Republicans nearly seven thousand, and the Liberals a few hundred more than the Republicans. This light vote for the Republican candidates as compared with the large one for the Democratic candidates was pointed to by the Liberals as an evidence of bad faith on the part of the Mormons. I confess that I was surprised at the result, and was inclined to regard it as an evidence of insincerity, and of a disposition, on the part of the Mormons, to vote together under the name of "Democrats." But after hearing from the entire Territory, I reached the conclusion that a desire to defeat the Liberals and to prevent possible disfranchisement was the true explanation. Quite a large number of non-Mormons who had favored the organization of the Republican party, and would have voted for its candidates, became fearful that the Democrats would carry the cities of Salt Lake and Ogden, and, to defeat that party, voted the Liberal ticket; and a very large number who had been members of the People's party were told by Democrats not to throw their votes away, that the Republicans would be beaten, and by their help the Democrats could succeed. And certain Liberal stump-orators were reported to have said that they favored disfranchising the Mormons. This fact, however, appeared, that the non-Mormons on the Republican and Democratic tickets received as many votes as the Mormons on the same tickets: the Mormons did not scratch the Gentiles, and vote for the Mormons. In the Territory, outside of Salt Lake City, the Republican candidates received upwards of three thousand more votes than the Liberal candidates. Since the August election, a Republican territorial convention has been held, and delegates from nearly all the counties were in attendance. The party is being more thoroughly organized, and I am quite confident that the Republican vote will be largely increased at the next general election.

Some oppose organization on party lines, as in the other Territories and in the States, because they fear that statehood would soon

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follow. So far as I have been informed by the leaders of the movement, the purpose is not to hasten the admission of the Territory into the Union. The advocates of this division believe that it is for the common good to divide the people according to their convictions upon national issues, in the hope that the distrust and hate, the criminations and recriminations, of the past and present, may cease or be greatly lessened, and that different sections of the people may more effectually co-operate for the good of all. By such a division the people will have an opportunity to show their attachment to sound principles. But there is no haste for statehood. When Congress shall determine that the Territory should be admitted, it will pass an enabling act imposing restrictions and conditions as it shall believe to be right. And in the mean time, by a course of political discussion and division here, where heretofore there has been no political antagonism, except upon a local issue which has now been removed, the voters of the Territory may be fitted to do their part well when admission does take place.

There are probably a hundred and fifty thousand Mormons in this Territory; but of that number many are only nominally so. Amid the contentions between them and the Gentiles, many have sided with the church in which are their parents, relatives, and friends, without embracing its faith. It is idle now to think of disfranchising the Latter-day Saints. They are an industrious, temperate people, as a rule; and my observation has led me to believe that they are law-abiding since the church took its stand under the law against plural marriage. I am aware that now and then individuals will report violations of that law since the manifesto; but upon investigation such charges are seldom sustained. It would be strange if there were no breaches of it: there are some such cases among non-Mormons. I do not believe that such marriages have been authorized or sanctioned by the officers of the Mormon Church since the manifesto. With the exception of a comparatively few polygamists, the male Mormons of proper age, who are citizens of the United States, have the right to vote, and do so. They will not vote for Liberal candidates. They must divide, as the members of other churches generally do, or all vote the Democratic or Republican ticket. They ought to divide on national party lines, and, if they choose to do so, no man or set of men is authorized to say they shall not. Who shall say that any number of American citizens having the right to vote shall not organize a Republican party in Utah, nominate a ticket, vote for and elect

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it, if they can by fair means? The rights of such men are as sacred as the rights of those who would deny them.

Gentiles have said to the Mormons, "When your church abandons polygamy, and you take a stand in favor of obedience to the law, and disband your party, we will welcome you in with us politically." But when the church declared against polygamy and in favor of obedience to the law, and the "Church Party," as it was termed, disbanded, and its members proposed to unite with the national parties, the Mormons were charged with hypocrisy in so doing, and were told that they could not be believed, and that their object was political ascendency for the church through statehood. They were asked to do what was patriotic and right; and when they did as asked,—without an opportunity to show by their conduct that they were in earnest, and without any evidence since then that they were not,—they were charged with sinister designs upon the rights of those not of their religion, in fact, with a purpose to gain political power that they might deprive the Gentiles of their political and civil rights, and heap wrongs and indignities upon them. In view of the multitude of counsel, of the disapproval and denunciation that the Latter-day Saints were receiving, the venerable man at their head remarked to his brethren, that he often thought of what Lorenzo Dow once said of the doctrine of election. "Said he, 'It is like this: you can and you can't, you will and you won't, you shall and you shan't, you'll be damned if you do and you'll be damned if you don't.' That," he continued, "is about the condition we as Latter-day Saints are in."

The Mormons, in organizing their church as it was founded, embraced beliefs that were opposed to the convictions of their fellowmen. Later Joseph Smith and his followers assailed an institution revered by millions of the human race as the fountain of purity and virtue, of domestic harmony and happiness,—the beneficent relation between one husband and one wife, from which family influences emanate, and around which cluster the holiest affections and hallowed memories,—the sure source of patriotism, stability, national grandeur, and glory. The claims and practices of the church aroused resentments that were followed by violence. Joseph Smith and his brother were killed by a mob; and other unlawful acts, attended with numerous indignities, were perpetrated upon the Mormons. Under these circumstances they left their homes behind them, passed beyond the bounds of civilized society, settled in these valleys and mountains, and sought to establish an independent State. For a number of years

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they were isolated from the rest of mankind, excepting a few men and women of other beliefs. Here they held almost absolute sway. Under such circumstances they became intolerant towards those who differed from them in belief. The president of the church and his subordinate officers became arbitrary, and visited many wrongs and indignities upon those who were bold enough to take a stand against them. Amid such contentions, confidence disappeared, and prejudice and hate overpowered better motives.

From the realities of the past, among conditions differing widely from those of to-day, many Gentiles fear that the Mormons will return to the old practices and ways of Brigham Young and others of his time. To these people I say that the face of Utah is toward the sun. The darkness is at her back. She is not on the retreat. We are climbing the hills of progress: higher plains and brighter lights are ahead, and I trust we shall all get clearer and better views of human duty.

The Mormon is with us. The same nature is common to us all. A Power higher than ourselves has so ordered. So far as he and we obey the law, we are all equal before it. The forces of nature are changing the most durable objects in the finite world. Our natures and our beliefs are changed by the influences around us. So of that organization of which we are units,—society. A better feeling is growing; prejudice and hate are loosing their grip, slowly it must be conceded. But I have no doubt that confidence, good-will, and harmony will be restored sooner or later, and that ere long these valleys and mountains will be the home of a patriotic, harmonious, progressive, and great people.

CHARLES S. ZANE.

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THE PROFIT OF GOOD COUNTRY ROADS.

I WRITE of the American common road. If you will examine a detail map of any important county within the United States, you will be likely to be impressed first by the great number of intersecting roads which seem to be spread like a huge network over all the accessible land of the county, and which all lead, with more or less directness, to the market-towns and to the larger channels of trade. If you will then take the trouble to measure the length of these roads by means of the printed scale, you will develop some surprise with the progress of your work, for your column of mile totals will soon run from tens into hundreds, and not unlikely into thousands; while your study, if pursued to further fields, will soon show you that the common roads in either of many counties exceed in length the aggregate mileage of all the railroads in the State, and that three of our States can be easily selected in which the total length of public roads, exclusive of town and city streets, is greater than the combined mileage of all the railroads in the world.

If you will travel one of these roads, going out as near as may be in a radial direction from the market-town, you will be interested in noting the gradations of thrift from good to bad as your journey proceeds. Leaving the town limits there will first appear the comely homes, and kindred evidences of comfort, which commonly belong to the suburban farmer. The market is just beyond his door-yard, and no condition can be imagined so calamitous as to sever the industrial value of his location. A distance of two or three miles will lead you to a more scattered population, living in homely and more secluded structures, and, in spite of their evident sobriety and industry, surrounded by certain signs of unrequited toil; while the further progress of your journey will introduce you in due time, and with tolerable certainty, to a region of hovels and abandoned farms. Wherever you go, the rule is much the same; and it is no exaggeration to say, that with the enlargement of concentric circles surrounding every American inland town is to be found an apparently undue diminution of agricultural population, wealth, and thrift. I used the word "undue" with deliberative purpose; for I believe it will never be as-

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serted that the factor of distance can be wholly eliminated in rating the relative value of separate farms, or in determining the social and industrial advantages of their separate owners.

But from the industrial standpoint, at least, distance, in this advanced year of grace, can no longer be fairly measured in miles and leagues. We have gone beyond all that. London is nearer to New York than was Buffalo sixty years ago. We exchange goods with California every hour of the day; talk with our friends in Europe in less time than it takes to write and post a letter; ride twenty miles by rail to business in the morning, and home by the same route at night; travel more miles, and accomplish more business, in a day, than was possible for our grandfathers to do in a month; and have no regrets, except for those few things which have to be left undone for lack of time. To accomplish all this we have directed the national hand, and loosened the national purse-strings, to the encouragement of improved industrial methods, to the establishment of great commercial and mechanical centres, and, in certain directions, to the aid of enlarged and quickened means of transportation; we have pledged the public credit, granted public lands, and passed laws—general and special—to ameliorate the risks of capital, and insure the construction of railroads; and we have spent hundreds of millions of the public money to deepen our rivers and harbors, and provide ample outlets for the accumulating inland trade. In all these things we have adhered to a beneficent principle of statesmanship; and yet it must be admitted that these governmental acts were not commonly inspired so much by the economic motives of the statesman as by the dogged insistence of capital upon its claim to government aid. Their projectors have looked forever to the main chance; and so we find that the splendid advantages of these railroads and telegraphs, and all the great inventions of commercial and mechanical value, are held as private property, and bestowed for the use of the public only at comfortable market-rates. They represent, to be sure, a kind—and by all odds the most common kind—of national thrift, but a thrift, nevertheless, which owes its prominence to the individual wealth of the citizen and to the countless industries erected and displayed for the advancement of personal ends. They are no sooner exempt from the need of paternal aid than they assert their position beyond the pale of community ownership, shrink from the touch of public institutions, and assume the national phase only in a reflective and uncertain way: in a word, they are no part of the public property.

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In viewing the results which seem to have inured to the nation through all these time-saving and distance-shortening improvements, it appears impossible not to observe that their benefits are bestowed in a somewhat one-sided and inequitable way. Directed by the besetting motive of self-interest, they have sought patronage in the great centres of population, and erected markets where thrift and money have called them into demand as needed adjuncts of competitive trade. They have saved time, lightened labor, and abridged distance, in all the operations of the banker, the merchant, the manufacturer, and the followers of the learned professions, and have developed monopolistic features in some degree commensurate with the centralizing tendency of population, capital, and trade. Their benefits to the farmer, while vastly important in themselves, have not, from a relative standpoint at least, tended either to allay his complaint, or to enhance his industrial condition. Indeed, they do not seem to have quite reached the farmer nor the farm; for, alas! the distance to the American farm, like the distance to sun and moon and the inaccessible stars, is still measured in miles and leagues.

Meanwhile what of the dirt road, that only avenue of communication which connects the farmer socially and commercially with the world at large? It is the same road that was used a hundred centuries ago by the naked savage when chased by a storm to the sheltering cave, and from him it seems to have descended as an entailed legacy to the American government. In all these years it has not changed, except that the modern article is more or less churned and mangled by narrow wheel-tires, and flanked by costly and useless fences,—two species of property unknown to our primitive ancestor, and first conceived at that later period which marked the dividing line between instinct and imbecility. Measuring a million miles or more in its various ramifications, dissolving in the rains of April, baking and pulverizing beneath the rays of the midsummer sun, drifting and disappearing in the whirlwinds of November, and presenting at all times but little more than a roughened streak of soil to serve as a land highway for the great volume of internal traffic, the time seems to have come when the American common road may rightfully assert itself as the most expensive, and by all odds the most extravagantly maintained, of all the public institutions. To the intelligent foreigner who comes to our shores, the American "system" of road maintenance is little short of ridiculous: to the thoughtful and inquiring native, it is only a kind of legalized negligence, a relic of feudalism borrowed

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from England in the old days of governmental poverty, and placed in the keeping of the most patient and long-suffering of our industrial classes, who have been gradually led by "the ensnaring wiles of custom" to endure and to embrace it. What are the pecuniary benefits of good roads? It is a national question; for these roads are the common care and property of all the people, and any effect which grows out of their improvement must be found directly in the economic condition of the persons and property within their widened influence.

No great country can afford to neglect its farmers, or to abandon any reasonable measure by which the encouragement of agriculture is likely to be insured. Yet agriculture within the United States, if not actually declining, has certainly witnessed a long season of depression, and has been nowhere spurred to the same conditions of increase and thrift that have marked so many industries in the cities and towns. To them are accorded all the improvements of the age, —improvements conceived in self-interest, wrought by capital, labelled with a price, and displayed in the marts of huckstering trade. To them the common road appears to be of remote concern. They send and receive by the canals, the railroads, and the steamships; and their finished and refined products are carried a thousand miles at less price per ton than it costs the farmer to move the same weight of crude material from his farm to the nearest local market. Institute any comparison you will, and it seems bound to appear that—in spite of his intelligence, toil, and sobriety, and in the face of an increased consumption and growing market—the American farmer is badly handicapped in his industrial race with other branches of society. From an economic outlook, the result has not been inspiring. In the great State of New York, where the value of farm-crops was exceeded last year by those of only two States in the entire Union, the disproportion between the wealth of country and town has become so marked, that the officially estimated value of farm-lands last year was less than eight per cent, and that of the incorporated cities and villages more than ninety-two per cent, of the total taxable values within the State. The list of abandoned farms in many States is growing to such length as to excite public comment, and invite official inquiry. A few days ago Governor Campbell of Ohio, in a public address to the farmers at Marysville, declared that the farms of that State had decreased in market-value by at least $220,000,000 in the last ten years, although the official census reports record an increase of the

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aggregate wealth of Ohio during the same period, amounting to $243,000,000; thus showing an apparent gain of $463,000,000 in municipal values as against the immense depreciation of farm-values just noted. The population of not a few of our agricultural districts has actually decreased within the last ten years, while the mortgage indebtedness of American farms is accumulating at the rate of $8,500,000 per year. Everywhere in the country the comparative downward tendency of small home farms has been complained of from time to time. "When every rood of ground maintains its man," has not seemed to be hopefully permanent. Witness the following table, showing the number of farms of different sizes in 1870 and in 1880:—

Size in Acres.	Number of Farms.	
	In 1870.	In 1880.
Under 3	6,875	4,352
3 and under 10	172,021	134,889
10 " " 20	294,607	254,749
20 " " 50	847,614	781,474
50 " " 100	754,221	1,032,910
100 " " 500	565,054	1,695,983
500 " " 1,000	15,873	75,972
1,000 and over	3,720	28,578

These figures show a very substantial decrease, during the decade, of farms under 50 acres, while those having between 50 and 100 acres have increased in only about thirty-seven per cent. Going into the larger acreage, we find that the increase of farms having between 100 and 500 acres has been about threefold; those between 500 and 1,000 acres have increased fourfold; and those having over 1,000 acres were eight times more in 1880 than 1870. In 1883 over eighteen millions of acres were held by eight proprietors, while the great railway companies owned two hundred millions of acres.

It is of course no easy task to charge these sluggish conditions and shifting fortunes of agriculture to any certain cause; but, in searching for a solution, certain facts appear with such conspicuous prominence as to make them worthy of mention; viz., that with the same physical conditions, the same market, and unchanged prices of farm-produce, the American farm has in late years substantially declined in market-value; that the value of farm-produce in a given locality is, in general, determined by the price offered in the local market; that the farmer pays the same for all that he buys, and gets no more for what he sells, whether his farm be near or distant from the

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market-town; that under these conditions the most immediate means of relief is to diminish the total cost of placing this produce in the market-town; that an amazing share of this cost is made up by the difficulties of wagon-road transportation, necessitating scant loads, long delays, mud blockades, break-downs, and extra trips; that these or similar hampering conditions are tolerated by no other industrial class within the nation; and, finally, that the quickening means for work, travel, and transportation adopted within and between the mercantile industries of the different towns, have added to the attractiveness and profits of these pursuits, and by force of contrast have detracted from the commercial value of neighboring farms.

But the public roads, though placed, for some obscure reason, within the immediate care of the farming population, have a paramount importance to the people at large, to whom, indeed, they in fact belong. The common road, unlike the magnificent railroads and the endless miles of telegraph, is an institution of the body politic, and it is a sorry comment to say that the government has thus far denied to the improvement of its public roads the same liberal and intelligent support that it has showered upon the schemes of private capital under the spurring importunities of an investors' lobby. The great volume of internal trade in every State is the common road trade. It exceeds by countless tons the entire freight tonnage of all the railroads combined; for besides this freight, which is at first carted in one form or another over the public road, there is a still greater quantity of produce of all kinds wheeled over these roads to fill the demands of the local market and to satisfy the requirements of home consumption. The cost of this form of transportation, be it great or small, is in the end paid, in part at least, by the consumer. What, in figures, is the volume of this trade?

In the present year our farmers will raise something over 3,200,000,000 bushels of grain (Indian corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye, and buckwheat), 46,000,000 tons of hay, 270,000 tons of tobacco, about 8,000,000 bales of cotton, and about 140,000,000 bushels of potatoes. To supply grains for the increased export demand produced by the shortage of European crops, we shall have a supply of about 200,000,000 bushels of wheat and 300,000,000 to 400,000,000 bushels of corn. Besides filling the local markets, we are hauling over our common roads enough produce, in one form or another, to supply a freighting business for 150,000 miles of railroads, using more than 1,000,000 freight-cars, and earning a traffic income in 1890 of nearly $1,000,-

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000,000, including the carriage receipts on nearly 700,000,000 tons of freight. The rapid industrial development of the South is a subject so often exploited as to be familiar to all, and it need only be attested here by the statement that the coal production of Alabama last year was something over 3,333,333 tons, an increase within the last decade of 946 per cent. It is clear that the movement of all these and a thousand other commodities of minor significance, necessitates a constant and constantly increasing use of the common road; and to the thoughtful observer it is likewise apparent, that in this use an incalculable loss is each year entailed upon the nation by the intermittent, yet always inferior, condition which these roads present.

As a nation, and as separate states, what are we waiting for? The time has certainly come when this subtle and too long unrecognized effect which our great network of dirt roads exerts upon the social and industrial character of the people should be made a subject of popular concern. We have been long exempt from international differences and from serious home contentions; the public debt has been reduced to an insignificant figure and the general credit made secure; State obligations in the aggregate have decreased by more than $70,000,000 within the last decade, and are now less by $50,000,000 than the available funds and assets held in the several State treasuries. Do we need the example of other nations? It is asserted that the military road of Marshal Wade had a greater civilizing effect among the people of the Scottish Highlands than the prior efforts of all the monarchs of Britain. In the early days of the English movement for reformed road-laws and better roads, the advantages of better methods were declared in a committee report in the House of Commons in these words:—

"By the improvement of our roads every branch of our agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing industry would be materially benefited. Every article brought to market would be diminished in price, and the number of horses would be so much reduced, that, by these and other retrenchments, the expense of five millions (pounds sterling) would be annually saved to the public. The expense of repairing roads, and the wear and tear of carriages and horses, would be essentially diminished; and thousands of acres, the produce of which is now wasted in feeding unnecessary horses, would be devoted to the production of food for man. In short, the public and private advantages which would result from effecting that great object, the improvement of our highways and turnpike roads, are incalculable."

Adopting the spirit of this report, England and Wales, according to recent parliamentary returns, are spending upwards of £4,000,000

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annually in their maintenance of an excellent system of macadamized roads; this sum being exclusive of expenses for similar purposes in the metropolitan district, where they amount to an additional sum of £280,000. France maintains an admirable system of highway management under direction of the General Government, and has to-day 130,000 miles of hard, smooth roads, kept up by a method of continuous repair, which has been shown to be the most effective as well as the most economical; while the sum of $18,000,000 annually spent by the French Republic in the care of her common roads is productive of more immediate and substantial revenue—to say nothing of the insured contentment of the rural classes—than any other public fund devoted to economic ends. In Belgium, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Italy, and other European states, the main roads have for years been made and maintained at the expense of the General Government, and millions of dollars are annually appropriated to insure their constant and systematic repair. At the end of long experience the testimony of these governments, as set forth in their official reports, is quite uniform in declaring high-class roads to be not only the best, but also the cheapest, when the aggregate expense of making and repairing is considered for a series of years, while in the light of public policy and governmental economy they are held to be fairly indispensable.

Do we require the result of experiments at home? Witness the splendid development of trade, the increase of land values and population, and the contented and prosperous condition, of the people of Union and Essex Counties, New Jersey, where these results are the conceded outcome of a new system of macadamized roads. In evidence of this fact, Mr. Charles C. McBride, a resident of Elizabeth, writing of the improved roads in Union County, says,—

"The costs and expenses of these magnificent roads are easily computed. The total outlay of the Board of Freeholders has been nearly three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and there are now nearly forty miles of telford and macadam road in the county. The figures are not in excess of what was expected by those who had given the matter careful study, thus showing that the management of the financial part had been as discreet as the preparatory work.

"But the question will arise at once, Has this expense of nearly ten thousand dollars a mile proved wise, as well as beneficial? Good roads are, of course, good things; but do they pay? The answer may in part be found in the fact that the property in Union County has actually appreciated in value far more than the cost of the roads; and this not only in cases of sale or exchange, but upon the tax levy.

"Notwithstanding the fact that three hundred thousand dollars' worth of county bonds have been issued to build these roads, and the interest must be

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met annually, the tax-rate has not been increased in the county, or in any city in the county, in consequence of the extra interest expense; and it is but fair to say that the actual appreciation of property due to the increased values of lands benefited by the improved roads meets the increased taxes already. And none of our roads has been completed for more than a year, while some parts of them only within the present month. As an advertising medium alone, they have been worth what they cost; for they have brought county property into enviable prominence, have already caused the sale of many residential sites, have brought new wealth and new enterprise in the midst of us, have given direct impetus to building and improvements in every city and town touched by them, and as yet the benefits are only beginning to be realized. It is safe to say that the citizens and tax-payers of Union County would not go permanently back to the old system with its old roads, if they were paid many times the cost of the new roads."

In Orange, N. J., in Parke County, Indiana, in some of the towns of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, and in one or two isolated cases in the State of New York, where this class of improvement has been carried on, the testimony of Mr. McBride regarding the industrial value of improved roads has been repeatedly verified. It is impossible here to make extended reference to the results accruing from the improvement of the roads in these several localities, and it is sufficient to say that the limited experience of our own countrymen, like the more extended knowledge of the European road-maker, fully attests the commercial importance of high-class roads. The result of this experience, and the recurring importunities of trade and agriculture for better means of local transit, have roused in certain quarters a demand for improvement, and engaged the attention of not a few of the officers of the state and general governments.

Several of our State governors have made the subject of improved roads a matter of special mention in their communications to the legislative bodies of their several States, and in some cases have urged at length the passage of laws for the improvement of the main roads under direction of an efficient head, and at the expense of the State at large. For two successive years, a bill has been pending in the Legislature of New York, commonly known as the "Richardson Bill," which provides for the expenditure of ten millions of dollars for the construction of improved roads on important lines throughout the State, and directs that the money so expended shall be raised by general tax. It has twice passed the Senate, and was lost in the Assembly only by a most slender margin. In Pennsylvania, an act of the Legislature creating a special road commission to "revise and consolidate the laws relating to the construction and improvement of the

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roads and public highways," etc., was approved by Governor Beaver in April, 1889; and the report of the commission so created was presented, with proposed roads improvement bills, to the Legislature in February of the present year. In Massachusetts, Ohio, Rhode Island, and several other States, similar activity has been noted in the halls of legislation, and the gradual tendency of the law-making bodies is manifestly in the direction of better and more practical road laws. Among the officers of the General Government at Washington, a similar interest in the improvement of American roads has been made apparent. In a recent annual report of the commissioner of agriculture, the necessity of better roads for the farmer and the merchant was set forth in most timely and emphatic language; and the Department of State has shown a corresponding interest by obtaining from the American consuls and ministers in foreign countries a series of special reports relating to the improved methods of road-building adopted by the several European states. I am advised by the public printer at Washington that these reports are now in press, and will soon be issued in the form of an illustrated and most interesting public document.

It would be unjust to a large class of our younger and more active citizens, not to mention here the splendid work and substantial success of that finely organized and well-equipped body of roads improvement agitators known as the "League of American Wheelmen." With a membership now approaching twenty-five thousand, and maintaining a national organization, as well as a separately organized division, within each of the important States, this league is spending thousands of dollars each year through the medium of its highway improvement committee, whose duties are directed to the collection and dissemination of printed matter calculated to arouse an interest in the improvement of the roads, and to encourage legislative action in the passage of amended road laws. It has placed itself in touch with every important source from which valuable facts and information seem to be attainable; it has sought out, recorded, and classified the names of all citizens in private and official life who have declared themselves in favor of better roads; and through thousands of newspapers, especially those most read in agricultural sections, it is publishing an endless variety of forceful arguments in furtherance of its work. It stands ready at all times to equip volunteer lecturers and speakers with such handbooks and printed information as will aid them to understand and explain the benefits of improved roads; and

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the bountiful progress of its work is shown in the fact that the labors of its national committee have been quadrupled within the last six months.

Altogether, the signs are hopeful, and the future of the American road is full of promise. Let us rest in the confident belief, that by a unity of forces and a continuation of the work already so well in hand, the government and the states will be brought to adopt that beneficent principle of statecraft which leads a nation to rightly and fully exercise its paternal functions, and to direct the public hand to the aid and development of that great branch of industry which was born with the birth of the nation itself, and upon the success of which all national wealth must eventually depend.

ISAAC B. POTTER.

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AMERICAN SHIPBUILDING AND COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY.

Discussion of the existing state of shipbuilding in the United States involves a survey of its history and the causes which have produced its vicissitudes.

At any time prior to 1861 our shipbuilding industry had simply kept pace with the demands of private commercial enterprise. The government had not been a customer of the private shipyards to any extent worth mentioning. Almost all naval vessels, prior to the civil war, were built in the navy-yards. In some cases, engines for steam men-of-war had been built in private shops, but as a rule these were simply engine-building establishments not connected with shipyards; and for that reason, and because the government suddenly stopped even this, it gave but little direct benefit to the industry of shipbuilding proper. During this period, it is needless to remark, the preponderance of shipping output in the United States was of wooden vessels, whether steam or sail; and at least up to 1860, notwithstanding the rapid growth of steam propulsion during the preceding two decades, the sailing tonnage still held the lead in amount, if not in importance.

These two decades, 1840 to 1860, were, moreover, the first half of the great transition period from wood to metal in ship construction; the last half of that period terminating, say, in 1880, when the building of wooden vessels, except for special and in the general sense of minor uses, was discontinued by all the great commercial nations. As early as 1840, England, which had for over two centuries held the first place as a shipbuilding and ship-owning power, found her home supply of timber exhausted. Even for many years prior to that date, more than half of the timber used in British shipyards had been imported,—teak from India, oak from the shores of the Baltic, from Spain, and from Africa, together with pine and oak from this country and from the Scandinavian Peninsula: in short, she had to depend on foreign lands for her supply of raw material—a situation necessarily incompatible with supremacy.

The fact that, as her supply of timber vanished, her production of

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metals increased, naturally caused the evolution of the iron ship. It might be interesting to go back to the first iron vessel, and trace the development of metal shipbuilding thence up to its present stage; but the survey would be too prolix for the limits of this paper. Suffice to say, that, in any sense, metal shipbuilding is a development of the last half-century; and in what might be called the broad, effective sense, it is not more than thirty-five years old. This period of three decades and a half has witnessed the production of the British steam fleet, commercial and warlike, and therewith the expansion of British commerce, wealth, and power to dimensions which fairly baffle the comprehension. At this moment, with few unimportant and struggling exceptions, British steamers carry the freight and passengers of every land, and British men-of-war hover about every habitable coast, protecting their commerce where it has a foothold, and promoting its growth in new places.

During the greater part of the period above indicated, England pursued her career without rivalry. From the end of the civil war to about 1880, there was but feeble effort to revive shipbuilding in this country. All our energies of capital and enterprise were directed to the extension of railways in every direction, to the repair of the war-ravage in the South, to the settlement of the vast Territories of the West, in a word, to purely domestic development; pending which, England was by common consent left to enjoy her ocean monopoly. In 1870 a spasmodic effort was made to establish a transatlantic line of American steamers; and the firm of William Cramp & Sons built four ships for that purpose. At that date those ships were not surpassed in speed or accommodation by any foreign vessel; but their advent was at once met by the English with new constructions, larger, costlier, and of course more attractive; and the British government extended powerful aid to their builders and owners, through their Post-Office Department, by lucrative mail-contracts, and later through their admiralty by an advantageous "Naval Reserve" policy, while our vessels received no public aid or countenance whatever. The result was inevitable. Our enterprise had to succumb. It is worth remarking, that the four vessels we built in 1871–72—the "Ohio," "Indiana," "Illinois," and "Pennsylvania"—are now the property of the International Navigation Company, and, though nearly twenty years old, have been found worth rejuvenating to the extent of substituting modern triple-expansion engines for the compound engines of their day. In size and speed they have, of course, been totally

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eclipsed by the enormous constructions of later years, such as the "City of Paris," "City of New York," "Majestic," "Prince Bismarck," and other vessels; but, as samples of the state of the shipbuilding art as practised in Cramp's shipyard twenty years ago, I do not hesitate to refer to them with pride. It is proper to remark that this attempt to establish an American line was made by the American Steamship Company, and never received encouragement from the government. The Steamship Company could not contend against the British government.

During this period, some other attempts were made to regain our national status on the ocean; but, with minor differences of circumstance or condition, they all met the same fate.

Some conception may be had of the state of affairs when I say that from 1870 to 1882 the total steam output of American shipyards for the foreign trade was 100,576 tons register, embracing 41 ships, or a mean tonnage of 2,453 per vessel; while the steam output of British yards in the same period was 2,091,023 tons, embracing 714 vessels, averaging about 2,928 tons each. To state the proposition in another form, the English built over seventeen ships to our one, and nearly twenty-one tons to our one, between 1870 and 1882.

Of course, the above refers only to tonnage for foreign trade, and the 100,576 tons represent but a fraction of the total output of our yards.

During the period under discussion (1870 to 1882) there were built in American yards, for coastwise trade, 224,000 tons of steam-shipping, of which 176,000 tons were of metal, and 48,000 tons of wood. This, of course, refers only to ocean tonnage. That of the rivers and great lakes belongs to another branch of the subject, to be dealt with in its turn.

But it must also be borne in mind that the two million odd tons registered as British steam-shipping between 1870 and 1882 by no means represents the whole work done in the shipyards of Great Britain during that period; on the contrary, an enormous amount of tonnage, both commercial and naval, was built in British yards for other nations during that period, together with a large percentage of the hulls, and all of the engines, for increase of the English navy. It is hardly worth while to consider the efforts put forth by other European nations during that period, since, though some of them took steps to augment their merchant-fleets and the navies, much of the benefits of their policy accrued to British shipyards.

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It is not easy to ascertain the exact amount of iron and steel steam tonnage turned out of British yards during the period under consideration. The two million odd tons registered in the British merchant-fleet is easily accessible; but the amount of tonnage, merchant and naval, built for other nations, is not recorded in any form that would be available, except by comprehensive and laborious research.

Some years ago it was stated in a parliamentary paper, that of the then existing iron and steel steam-shipping, naval and merchant, owned under foreign flags, about fifty-six to sixty per cent was British built. This was as late as 1886.

This survey exhibits the more important of the conditions which confronted American shipbuilders in 1882–83, when the government appeared in the market as a customer, to a probable extent hitherto unknown in the history of the Republic. It has been, I trust, made sufficiently clear, that in consequence of the monopoly of foreign trade enjoyed by Great Britain, and the necessarily restricted demand for vessels in our own coastwise trade, there was no opportunity for the development of a large shipbuilding industry from commercial sources alone. The few shipyards that maintained an existence did such work as there was to do promptly and well; but competition for the few ships offering from time to time was fierce; bids were strained to within a bare percentage upon cost; and the matter of profit was habitually subordinated to the desideratum of keeping their organizations together, and maintaining the high standard of work, in the hope that the industry would ultimately revive.

Thus when the government appeared in the market, and the indications were, that the rehabilitation of the navy would be carried out liberally and steadily, the shipbuilders responded promptly. Without going into details, it may be said that the work of rebuilding the navy has been in progress eight years, the first contracts having been awarded in July, 1883. During that period, eight cruisers of from 4,000 to 5,000 tons, four gunboats of from 800 to 1,700 tons, a despatch vessel, and a dynamite vessel, have been completed and put in commission; four double-turreted monitors have been finished in hull and machinery, and are receiving their armor and armament; while there are under contract, in various stages, three battle-ships of about 11,000 tons each, one coast-defence monitor, one armored cruiser of 8,300 tons, two protected cruisers of 7,500 tons each and another of 5,500 tons, a harbor-defence ram of 2,650 tons, three small cruisers of 2,000 tons each, two gunboats of 1,000 tons each, and a practice ves-

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sel for the Naval Academy, besides machinery for two armored ships, the hulls of which are building in the navy-yards of New York and Norfolk. The aggregate displacement of the vessels completed and in commission is 40,000 tons in round figures, exclusive of the monitors; and that of those under contract is about 73,500 tons. Therefore, up to this time, the government has in eight years patronized the shipbuilding industry to the extent of about 113,500 tons. That this work has stimulated and encouraged the hitherto languishing industry is quite true.

But no intelligent manufacturer needs to be told that government work alone is not a reliable basis of permanent prosperity. The requirements of the government as to material, workmanship, and performance, are so severe, that there is but little profit in its work as compared with orders for merchant account. Besides this fact is the ever present element of uncertainty as to the continuity of the government programme, the vicissitudes of national politics, and the frequent changes of administration, both in *personnel* and in policy, under which the work must be carried on.

The experience of the contractors who saw the hulls of the double-turreted monitors lying for a decade untouched on the stocks, in consequence of political conflicts, notwithstanding the regularity and good faith of the contracts under which they were begun, is not soon to be forgotten. It is true, that after the era of fierce party battle had passed away, and calmer counsels reigned, these vessels were completed substantially as provided in the original contracts, and the contractors received partial compensation for care and storage of the unfinished hulls during the long period of enforced suspension. But no account was ever taken of damages accruing for non-fulfilment of the contracts on the part of the government, and none ever will be. This matter is referred to here simply to call attention to both aspects of the case, and to correct a seemingly prevalent impression that the current work on government account is alone sufficient to revive our shipbuilding industry, and place it once more on a stable footing. Perhaps the absurdity of such an impression will be manifest, if I say that the total tonnage ordered by our government in the past eight years is less than that of the naval shipbuilding programme ordered by the British government in a single year during the same period.

However, if contractors have made no profit worth mentioning out of government work thus far, they have been enabled to improve their plants, train their men, and develop contributory industries to a

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condition of high efficiency and excellence, so that the present state of the shipbuilding art in this country is not surpassed anywhere in the world. Therefore, to sum up conclusions on this branch of the subject, it may be said, that while the current orders of the government on account of the new navy have revived shipbuilding, and given it a new lease of life, the revival is necessarily upon a small scale as compared with the state of the industry abroad; that its benefits must be viewed as temporary; and that the most that even a sanguine person can expect is that it may serve to prepare the way for a new era of extensive and profitable merchant shipbuilding in the future.

Let us now turn to consider the situation and prospect with respect to the last-mentioned and most important branch of our subject.

Thus far I have endeavored to make clear the following propositions:—

That, under existing conditions of national policy, shipbuilding in the United States is not likely to be developed much beyond its present status.

That the current patronage of the government cannot be relied on beyond certain limitations, and must therefore be considered a temporary help only.

That the demands of our coastwise trade alone, while perhaps steady and permanent as far as they go, are insufficient to promote shipbuilding on a large scale.

Assuming that these propositions are admitted, I will attempt to demonstrate the following:—

That the true and main reliance of a flourishing and important shipbuilding industry in the United States must be upon a regular and liberal demand for ships, created by an extensive and growing foreign trade in American bottoms.

That, in order to inaugurate such a condition of affairs, some step or steps must be taken to place the business of owning and operating commercial steamships on an equal footing with other nations.

The commercial disadvantages resulting from a monopoly of our ocean carrying-trade by foreign fleets attracted public attention many years ago. From the first there was practical unanimity as to the existence of these disadvantages, and a like concurrence in the opinion that "something ought to be done" to improve the situation; but upon the question of remedy, there have always been wide divergences of view. It having been generally conceded that the remedy must at least begin in national legislation, the dispute has been simply

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as to what the character of that legislation should be. A certain faction contended that nothing was required beyond a simple repeal of the navigation laws, to permit the free importation and registry of foreign-built vessels; and bills to that effect have been introduced, and in many cases discussed, in nearly every Congress since 1870. In no case has a bill of this character passed both Houses of Congress, and but once has the measure received a majority in either House. That was in the Forty-seventh Congress, when a "Free Ship Amendment" was proposed by Mr. Candler of Massachusetts, to what was known as the "Dingley Shipping Bill," and Mr. Candler's amendment was attached to the bill by a small majority. The result of this amendment was to kill the bill. It is not my purpose to discuss the merits of this proposition, further than to say that whatever increase in American tonnage might accrue from it would be gained at the expense of the destruction of American shipbuilding. That may be set down as an axiom to be observed as a necessary factor in every discussion of the subject. As pointed out at the beginning of this paper, the shipbuilding industry in Great Britain has been developed to such enormous proportions, and the facilities of construction enlarged to such a scale, that our own comparatively few and feeble shipyards would be instantly overwhelmed in the competition, the moment our market was thrown open to them to unload their old and worn-out wares on American "bargain-hunters."

This fact is now so well understood, that I think there is no hazard in saying that a large majority of the best minds of all parties are convinced that the experiment of trying to augment our merchant marine by a policy calculated to destroy our shipbuilding industry would not be conducive to the general public interests.

The other mode of remedy advocated has been that of adopting, in behalf of our own shipping, a policy similar to the one which has produced such striking results elsewhere; that is to say, public encouragement to the ownership and operation of American-built vessels in the foreign trade. This subject has for many years claimed a large share of the attention of Congress, commercial organizations, and the press. Its discussion has taken a wide scope, involving several exhaustive inquiries by congressional committees, numerous petitions and resolutions from boards of trade and chambers of commerce, with almost innumerable papers in the public prints, and speeches in our public halls; the whole forming what may be called the "Literature of our Merchant Marine." Its volume is so vast, that but the barest

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reference to its details can be made here. Suffice to say, that it covers every conceivable point at issue; and it has been so universally published, that no person of ordinary intelligence and education can have excuse for ignorance or misinformation on the subject.

The results of this agitation and discussion have been bills in Congress from time to time, providing for a more liberal and enlightened policy on the part of the government toward the national merchant marine. Some of these bills proposed special compensation to particular lines for carrying the mails. Such bills have failed in consequence of the objection that they involved the principle of special legislation. Other measures proposed a general bounty based upon tonnage, and distance actually travelled in foreign trade. This plan at the outset seemed more popular than any other, and there was at one time strong probability of its enactment into law. But it finally failed, partly on account of clashing of diverse interests, and partly by reason of "party exigencies," real or supposed, in the House of Representatives. It is hardly pertinent at this time to point out the benefits that would have been accrued, directly and incidentally, to every branch of our national life and industry, from a tonnage law properly administered. I have never hesitated, and do not now hesitate, to declare that ten years of its operation would result in placing our merchant marine in the foreign trade on a footing second only to that of Great Britain in amount, and vastly superior to it in character and quality of vessels. And I still hope to see such a policy adopted at no distant day.

Another mode of remedy proposed was that of a law providing compensation for carrying the mails at so much per mile of outbound voyage, varying with the character of the vessel employed, as to tonnage and speed. Such a measure, modified by reduction of the compensation to a very low rate, became a law at the close of the last session of Congress; and at this writing the Post-Office Department is considering the mode of putting it in operation. Briefly, it provides a scale of compensation as follows:—

						Per Mile.
Vessels	of 8,000	tons,	20	knots	speed	$4.00
"	" 5,000	"	16	"	"	2.00
"	" 2,500	"	14	"	"	1.00
"	" 1,400	"	12	"	"	0.66

Vessels of the first, second, and third classes, must be of iron or steel, and must be subject to inspection and approval by the Navy

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Department for conversion into auxiliary cruisers, or for other warlike purposes if necessary. Vessels of the fourth class may be of metal or wooden construction; but all must rate A.1 in their classes to be entitled to the benefits of the act. The sum of eight hundred thousand dollars was voted in the Post-Office Appropriation Bill for the current year to carry the provisions of this act into effect.

Of course, at this time it is not possible to estimate the effect of this act upon our merchant marine. At any rate, it is an improvement upon the previous situation. What the extent and value of the improvement may be remains for time and experience to demonstrate: those concerned in the interests involved know that it is the least that could be done, because less than this would have been so little better than nothing as to be hardly worth consideration. In order that some idea of the possible effect of this act may be formed, I will explain that a ship capable of fulfilling the requirements under Class 1 would cost at least two million dollars. Such a ship would, under the most favorable circumstances, be capable of earning about a hundred thousand dollars a year for carrying the transatlantic mails under the provisions of this act. She would have to compete with vessels of similar class plying under foreign flags.

The two British lines carrying mails to the United States receive for that service upwards of a hundred thousand pounds per annum in addition to the "cruiser money" of twenty shillings per ton paid to steamships enrolled in the British Naval Reserve. These ships also receive annually a large sum from the United States for sea-postage.

The French line is heavily subsidized by its government; and Germany indirectly subsidizes her lines. All these earn large sums as sea-postage from the United States Post-Office Department.

It will be seen that British vessels capable of classification in the first class, as provided by this act, already receive a greater "subsidy" than is offered to American ships of equal rate and performance.

Coming to the second class (those of 5,000 tons and 16 knots), it will be noticed that the terms of the act preclude this class from the North Atlantic trade; the law providing specially that none but the first class ships shall be accepted by the Post-Office Department for that traffic. At this time there is no volume of trade between the Atlantic ports of North and South America to warrant the employment of vessels of that rate: therefore the use of vessels of the second class is probably restricted to the trade between the Pacific ports of the United States and China, Japan, and Australia. In this trade, so far

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as China and Japan are concerned, such ships would at once be brought in competition with a line of British vessels plying between the western terminus of the Canada Pacific Railway and Hongkong under a fixed subsidy, from the British and Canadian governments, of three hundred thousand dollars a year for ten years. Three vessels are at present provided for this line; and the subsidy amounts to a practical guaranty of the entire first cost of the ships, payable in ten years at the rate of ten per cent per annum.

It is not necessary to enter into details in this paper. But I will say—and will demonstrate it, if any one disputes the statement—that the subsidy guaranteed to the British Vancouver line involves a considerably larger percentage on the first cost of the ships than the maximum compensation offered to competing American vessels by the terms of the act under consideration, for the same service. In the Australian trade, our ships would have a little advantage, as things are now; but it is not probable that the British government would allow that to exist long, if they found it advisable to apply to their Australian colonies a policy similar to that which they have already adopted as between their colonies on the Pacific coast, and China and Japan.

The third class of vessels named in this act (those of 2,500 tons and 14 knots) are practically restricted to the North and South American trade; being too large for profitable West Indian traffic, and too small for the competition of the transpacific. They are to get a dollar per mile, which, with their average possible travel, would give them a maximum of, say, from eighteen thousand to twenty thousand dollars per annum for carrying the mails. Probably vessels could be built to answer the requirements of this class for from three hundred and fifty thousand to four hundred thousand dollars apiece, according to the material and fittings; so that the proposed compensation would amount to about five or six per cent per annum on the first cost as against the ten per cent already guaranteed to British vessels as above set forth.

I have gone into detail to this extent, because it seemed necessary to do so in order to show, that, loud as has been the outcry of "subsidy" raised against the act recently passed, it is still, as a matter of fact, less liberal than existing provisions of the British government for their own ships already in the trade to be competed for.

Thus far I have dealt with facts only; and I have been careful to avoid any matter susceptible of controversy. In conclusion I will

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venture a few deductions of my own, based upon the foregoing statements of simple facts. I will assume at the start that our internal development of farms, workshops, mines, railways, coastwise, lake, and river commerce, etc., has reached a point at which capital has reached its zenith of profitable investment in them, and must look for some new field, not only for further original investment, but also for the protection or betterment of investments already made. In my judgment, our energy and enterprise during the last twenty-five years have exhausted all the large chances of fortune within the boundaries of the United States. Our existing industries of every description represent an enormous volume of local "plant" and productive organizations quite up to our local requirements for some time: hence it is necessary to seek outlets for an inevitable surplus of product, and, in default of such outlet, there must be a plethora of production, which is bound to result in stagnation, or, in other words, national apoplexy. For this there can be but one preventive, "an ounce" of which is said on traditional authority to be "worth a pound of cure;" and that is in the development and retention of external market outlets. It is my opinion that we can never secure these until we can ourselves command the avenues to them. Commerce has its "strategy" no less than war. In war, strategy depends on lines of operation and communication. At this time we possess neither, for either commerce or war. Our great rival controls both in every sense of the word. To-day we could not even defend our own coasts against her obsolete ironclads in war, and we cannot control our own foreign commerce as against the poorest and least seaworthy of her myriad of "ocean tramps." If, for any reason, she were to withdraw from our trade the magnificent vessels which, by virtue of our acquiescence, do all our transatlantic fetching and carrying for us, our peerless nation of sixty odd millions would be laid helpless under an embargo compared to which that of Jefferson's administration would be but a mere trifle of annoyance. It has seemed strange to me that so little attention is paid to this fact. What would our political independence be worth, if circumstances, likely to occur at any moment, should visit upon us the consequences of our commercial servitude to England?

That this is a plain statement of fact I do not think any reasonable person will have the temerity to dispute. For the present I have only to add, that we have done nothing as yet to lift this yoke from our necks. It cannot be done except by restoring our merchant marine and our naval power to their former status upon the high seas.

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The attempts thus far made in that direction are but feeble. I am not sanguine that they will be strong in our time; but I hope so. It may be that this result will not come until we have received a sterner lesson of our weakness and helplessness than any one now anticipates.

This pitiable condition on the ocean is emphasized by the contrast of our unrivalled power, resource, and enterprise within our own borders. It seems indeed the strangest anomaly of modern civilization, that the most enlightened, most ambitious, most energetic, most productive, and internally most powerful, nation on the globe should be externally among the weakest, most helpless, and least respected.

The sole remedy for this situation is ships with seamen to handle them, whether for peace or for war; whether to carry our enormous exports, and bring our immense imports, and receive therefor the tremendous tolls which now flow into foreign coffers, or to vindicate the majesty and power of our flag abroad in the world to a degree befitting our status in the community of nations.

There is no lack of raw material, no lack of skill to fashion it into the instruments of commerce. We have the iron and the steel; we have the men to work them into the finished forms of stately ships; we have the money to promote the most colossal of enterprises by sea. All we need is assurance of a steady national policy of liberal and enlightened encouragement, based upon a patriotic common consent, and elevated above the turmoils of politics, or the squabbles of parties. One decade of such a policy would make us second only to Great Britain on the high seas, either for commerce or for defence; and two decades of it would bring us fairly into the twentieth century as the master maritime power of the globe.

CHAS. H. CRAMP.

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THE DANGER OF THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

THE organization called the "Farmers' Alliance" is the outgrowth of many such associations that have heretofore existed, with more or less claim to the rank of a national brotherhood in the United States, for the promotion of the welfare of agriculturists.

It was the hope of our fathers that the free, equal, just, and voluntary government which they ordained "for ourselves and our posterity" would escape the influences that had made the history of free government in England a constant warfare with monopoly and privilege established through the prerogative of the crown. They were successful so far as to crush out the very germ of privilege in Church and State, that arose from patents of nobility, family precedence, the rights of primogeniture, or any other advantage that might accrue directly to one man over another in the laws, or in the practice of government. They were not so fortunate in preventing the abnormal and unnecessary power of classes or individuals, over others more just and less covetous than themselves, through the abuse of the just powers of government. The effort to prevent these results has been sincere and persistent for nearly two centuries among English-speaking people. But the pride of national success in the accumulation of wealth, and the attendant progress of our people toward a higher civilization, has caused us, in both countries, to give increased power to capital by inviting it to pile up in vast masses in the hands of incorporated companies, such as banks, railroad companies, manufacturing companies, ocean-transportation companies, and many hundreds of thousands of corporations organized to handle money and credit with profit, and with only a limited responsibility for losses or defalcations.

While this condition, thus created by legislation alone, has been greatly instrumental in hastening the development of the country, it has increased the power of capital with every dollar that has been earned or gained, and has subjected the individual laboring-man to a rivalry in almost every leading industry, that is hopeless. The industry, skill, and genius of the industrial man have been converted into merchandise, which he must sell in a market where the capitalist names the price of labor, and limits the period of employment.

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Combinations of skilled men in every great industry, for the purpose of enjoying the just profits of their skill, are quite as impotent against combined corporate capital as the efforts of individual men. Such combinations exist, and are oath-bound and determined in their concerted action; but they include only the effort to increase the wages, and shorten the hours of labor. They do not even attempt to master the control of their industry in claiming its profits.

Capital and credit united in corporate bodies take the field as soon as any invention or discovery adds a new art to the existing arts, or as soon as any great demand arises for the products of a given industry which promises a profit. They are always lying in wait for opportunity, and seize upon it, and appropriate its advantages, before the skilled toiler who is to make it profitable can get ready to work it on his own account. This much has been accomplished for "progress," and at this sore expense to the industrial classes, by the sort of legislation that we have adopted to promote by intensive methods what we would have better achieved by a slower and better system. In the pride and glory of our wonderful career, it is needless to point out that our march has been like that of a victorious army, whose conquests leave in its track great numbers of wounded and dead. But that the mournings of the stricken ones should be sometimes heard above the bugles of the advance need not astonish us.

The States, more than the Federal Government, have crystallized the power of capital and credit in swarms of corporations of every sort, and if a remedy for such legislation is yet in reach, it must be looked for in State legislatures and in State courts. This obvious truth is well known to all the industrial societies, but they seem to attach far less importance to such State remedies than they do to those that are supposed to be within the remedial powers of Congress. It seems to be true that every industrial society is looking to Congress to alleviate the condition of every laboring-man. The real cause of this appeal to Congress is the consciousness of these classes that Congress has given direct aid to the power of concentrated capital and credit by its legislation in respect of taxation, finance, and transportation, and these societies naturally expect relief from that quarter.

The corporations chartered by the States were all intended to be primarily for the benefit of agriculture as the foundation and support of all other industries and vocations. Their proper regulation and restriction by the States would have secured that purpose. But when Congress threw the weight of national legislation in their favor, they

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became the oppressors and destroyers of the agricultural class and of other industrial people. It is for the removal of this unjust discrimination, that the appeal for relief has become almost a frantic demand of the sufferers.

The farmers have been slowly but steadily forced into this attitude against their common aversion to all forms of class legislation. Their vocation, in which there are elements and incidents of personal rights and responsibilities that are not so fully observed in the closer and more intimate associations of men who labor in shops and in gangs, gives to them an independence of thought and action that makes them conservative,—slow to act, and considerate of the general welfare. They act in concert only on pressing occasions, for the redress of grievances or for the common defence; and hence they remember with sacred pride that it was in their blood that American liberty received its baptism, and that their power has decided every vital event of our history, in war and in peace. No great political event has been accomplished in our country without the consent of the agriculturists; though some great evils have been endured, because of their patient patriotism, until they were no longer to be tolerated.

In the beginning of our system of free, constitutional government, the wealth of the country consisted of lands, negroes, cattle, and horses. No great hoards of money existed here, and manufactures had scarcely a beginning. Taking the first half-century of our existence into account, the greater portion of the wealth of the country remained in the possession of the agriculturists. It was aided and increased by production of crops of tobacco and cotton, which were sold at remunerative prices in Europe, the then centre of the money power of the world, where there was no rival production. Agriculture in all its crops was then our great, controlling industrial and commercial pursuit. In the last half of our century, all this is changed; and the farmers are industriously searching for the causes and the authors of the complete revolution that has placed them under mortgage to the concentrated money power. This inquiry agitates them, and, if it drives them into inconsiderate action, the fault is not theirs, but lies at the door of the various dangerous abuses from which they are suffering.

It was not the abolition of slavery that caused this revulsion in the farming industries. In the former slave States the present depression is far less than it is in the former free States. In fact, the destruction of the property value of Southern slaves was not a loss of

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wealth to the United States: it was simply a transfer of that wealth from the Southern farmer to the Northern and European capitalists.

In the speculations in our bonded debt, in the speculative dealings in gold, in the profits of national banking, in the war features of the tariff, and in interest, the value of every emancipated negro has been more than twice paid by the taxes levied indirectly on agriculture. Each of these operations has given increased power to concentrated capital, while none of them has added any thing to the market-price of any great staple product of agriculture. If these national policies were not intended to increase the burdens of agriculture for the benefit of capital, yet, such being their effect, it is not surprising that the dethronement of that grand industry from its former power and independence should excite the gravest apprehensions of the farmers. Capital has found little difficulty in enlisting the operatives who run its mills and machines, in a combination to extort tribute from the farmers, on promises of increased wages. Their political aid has been faithfully given to the men who buy a part of the farmers' surplus crops at prices fixed in foreign countries, and pay for them in goods that the law compels the farmers to pay for in prices increased by taxation.

Then the system which gives the American market exclusively to the American manufacturer has created a hotbed for the breeding of trusts and combines among all classes of men, thus sheltered by the law; all of which are shouldered down upon agriculture, as the weight of a house rests upon its foundations. The sense of injustice under which the farmers of the country labor has deeply excited and offended them in respect of the severe discriminations of the McKinley tariff. They regard the avowed purpose to destroy foreign commerce in such articles as can be produced in the United States, at whatever cost to the consumer, as a declaration of commercial warfare against the countries to which the farmers are compelled to look for a market for all their redundant crops. A high-priced home market for what they must buy, and an impoverished foreign market for what they must sell, impress the farmers with the conviction of serious injustice. This feeling is greatly aggravated by the fact that the men to whom they pay such tribute have the advantage of purchasing their surplus farm-products at prices fixed in the pauperized European markets.

Then, in financial matters, the farmers feel that they have been surreptitiously deprived of a clear constitutional right to have the free coinage of gold and silver, on a ratio of value to be fixed by Con-

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gress, in accordance with the historical experience of the country. They insist that the silver dollar has never done any harm to any industry of our country; that it was innocent of any dishonesty, until its alleged hidden sin was discovered by countries that produced much gold and no silver, and by men who could control, through the concentrating agencies of banking and other corporations, the major part of the entire volume of gold in the country, and so regulate all prices. They further insist that it is not needed that we should have only a gold coinage to pay balances that we do not owe, and will never owe; that gold is only needed to pay the gambling balances of the stock-brokers; and that we should use in our own country the hundred million dollars of precious metals that we get from our mines every year, as a basis of redemption of national promises. They insist that it is illogical and unjust that they should pay taxes to enable the United States to issue to them through the national banks the money with which to pay those very taxes, giving to the banks a large profit for a needless business routine, and large exemptions from taxation.

These objections to our present system, enhanced by the fact that there is no legal means for increasing the volume of the currency to meet the rapid increase of our population and business, are potent with the farmers, as they are, also, very grave in the minds of our wisest financiers. They reason, and logically, that there is not a wide margin of difference between the issue of "fiat money" and our plan of making $600,000,000 of national bank-notes redeemable in $346,000,000 of greenbacks, and those, in turn, redeemable with $100,000,000 of gold, kept for that purpose in the treasury, $80,000,000 of which Secretary Sherman bought at par with silver certificates. The farmers have been taught some very loose lessons, in the direction of "fiat money," by statesmen who have "climbed the golden stairs" late in life.

Everybody knows that the government could not at a given moment redeem its promises, current as money, in coin; but everybody believes that it can redeem every dollar as fast as it may be tendered for redemption. On this fact rests the whole fabric of our financial system. The farmers know that it is the credit of the government, based on its good faith in using the power of taxation, that gives the money value to all of our paper promises. They seek to resort to this credit for relief in a time of distress in order to increase the volume of the paper currency, and demand loans based on their crops,

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instead of taxes to be levied on the same property, in order to keep money in circulation.

In this demand they ignore the vital requirement of our Constitution, that all public promises issued to circulate as money must be redeemed in coin. In fact, they are driven to this effort to substitute their crops for the coinage of gold and silver, by the artful, persistent, and cruel demand of the monometallists, that gold shall be the only coin in which our paper promises shall be redeemed. Thus the basis of redemption is being narrowed and the volume of currency necessarily decreased, while the demand for a safe expansion is constantly forced upon our country by a marvellous increase of population and of new industries. The farmer who is in debt sees a dark way before him when taxes are being increased for the sole purpose of increasing the power of concentrated capital, and that power is being intensified by a forced contraction of the coin-basis of redemption, to benefit the dealers in money.

These and other grave wrongs have at last called the farmers into combined action, and, when they so act, declarations of independence such as they made at Mecklenburg in 1775, and battles such as they fought at Concord in the same year, are not to be regarded as unexpected events, when justice is in need of defenders, and oppressions are to be checked.

The material interests of the cotton and grain growers are not always harmonious. Each class is interested, as consumers, in cheapening the products of the other class. It is in vain that they attempt to reconcile this natural and wholesome diversity of interests by legislation or by friendly concessions in club meetings. But when they have a common enemy in unjust and discriminating taxation, or in the financial policy dictated to Congress by concentrated capital, their co-operation is wise and patriotic. It leads them to declare a policy and to impress it upon Congress, and that makes the Alliance political.

The Farmers' Alliance had these just purposes in view when it was organized. Another and very important purpose was to educate the farmers in the theory and history of constitutional self-government in the United States. In order to give freedom to opinion, and to dig to the foundations of truth without encountering the obstructions of party prejudice, they excluded from their body all classes of men who were not practical farmers, thinking that this sweeping ostracism would free them from the intrusion of professional politicians. Instead of that, the result has proven that this effort only

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furnished a cover for the moths that could prey upon them in the darkness, and shut out those who were most alert to destroy them. Almost every man in the United States who had earned any character as a statesman, legislator, jurist, or financier, was excluded from the Alliance, and, as such abilities are essential to safe government, their places are assumed, unavoidably, by men of imperfect education and of little experience in government, and too often by mere charlatans and demagogues.

It was a grave mistake of the Farmers' Alliance to shut out all their tried friends engaged in other pursuits, and to confine their representatives in the public counsels to those selected alone from their own membership. Their numbers could not furnish the political power necessary to success, and, needing friends engaged in other pursuits, they divorced themselves, without other cause than an unjust suspicion, from the sympathy of those who were thus reproached as being unworthy of public trust. This was not the purpose of the Alliance; but the self-respect of the excluded classes made it the inevitable result. They have, in their official pronouncements, fixed the line of eligibility to public office and honors at the doors of their conventicles, and have made the qualification for office, within those lines, to depend upon the acceptance by the candidate of certain measures described in certain resolutions agreed upon by their politicians. These resolutions did not come from the convictions of the great body of the Alliance membership. On the reverse, they violate and destroy the fixed political faith of the great majority of the farming classes. They are novel and scarcely plausible schemes, devised by politicians in the Alliance, around which the indignant members could be rallied into a movement to capture the public offices.

This movement was supplementary to and outside of the plan and purposes of the Alliance, and was simply a new partisan plan to control the government. Of necessity, it was a "third party" movement, intended to operate in local politics as a balance-of-power party, with the ultimate design of dislocating all other national party organizations. It was not possible thus to revolutionize public opinion of a sudden, and the effort has already lost to the Farmers' Alliance its most useful and substantial membership. They are retiring from it, and their places are being filled with waifs from the wreckage of all the many exploded schemes that have perished through public condemnation. The leaders of all those pretentious schemes are clambering upon the Ocala platform.

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This is a serious misadventure to the Farmers' Alliance, and is hurtful to the country. Already the Alliance has been compromised, to a degree, by being quoted, by the politicians who have taken charge of it, as favoring "fiat money," the most dangerous enemy to all industry. It is identified by them with the confiscation of property, without other crime on the part of the owner than that he has more than he needs. It is committed by them to the corrupt and destructive policy of using the taxing power to collect money from one man to lend it to another. It converts the power of Congress "to coin money, and regulate the value thereof" and to issue treasury notes redeemable in coin, into a power to promise a redemption in lands and staple crops, or to issue paper as money, without any promise or expectation that it will ever be redeemed, except in the payment of taxes. Such absurd notions never had a lodgment in the minds of the men who established the Farmers' Alliance. They utterly pervert the purposes of that organization, and will destroy it if they are adopted as their political creed.

It is a melancholy thought that the pure purposes and principles of the Farmers' Alliance should be thus abused by selfish politicians who have crept into its secret counsels. There was nothing wrong or unjust, unpatriotic or unwise, in this organization as it was originally established. Neither was it weak in its influence on public policy. It was a powerful organization for political resistance to political wrong and injustice. It was inspired with the thought in which the higher liberties of the people have often had their birth,—the redress of grievances. It was made necessary as a means of resistance to legalized monopoly, to legalized tax-robbery, to trusts that sprang up everywhere to choke down business rivalry and honest competition, and to the accumulated advantages given to corporations and great combines by the legislation of the country. It was the first grand effort of the farmers to combine in resistance to others who had combined for aggression upon them; and its failure, if it is destroyed by a misplaced confidence in its political leaders, will result in weakening, if not in dissipating, an influence that would otherwise have blessed the country. The sincere defenders of the people against the aggressions of monopoly, trusts, and combines, armed with the control of taxation and finance, will miss the powerful support of the Alliance, when its noble mission has been degraded into a disreputable hunt after office.

To the Southern agriculturist, the Farmers' Alliance seemed to

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be "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." His faith was anchored in the good intentions, wisdom, prudence, and fraternity of its membership. The Southern farmer has problems to discuss and solve that require peculiar deliberation, and are only incidentally connected with national political conditions. If silver is demonetized, and gold is made our only coin, the Southern cotton-grower is not thereby destroyed. In every cotton State of the South, the regular production of ample supplies of grain, fruits, vegetables, wool, silk, cattle, horses, and hogs, is quite as easy as the growing of cotton. In coal, iron, timber, fisheries, and every variety of stone and clay, they are quite as rich as any country needs to be. They have no real competitor in cotton-growing, and will soon have few in iron and coal production. The South can always get gold for every pound of cotton it can grow; and if the cotton-grower finds it to his interest to become self-supporting as to food and raiment, and to make his cotton-crop his surplus crop, for which he will require gold, he will take into his hands the same yardstick that the Eastern capitalist uses when he measures the value of the property of his debtor. This is not patriotic; but it is quite possible that the interests of the cotton-grower should coincide with those of the gold-standard monometallists. The farmers of the South will have this subject to deal with, if the enemies of silver, and the "fiat money" men in the Alliance, shall doom silver to an unjust death.

The Southern farmers, holding a virtual monopoly of cotton production, because of climatic conditions, must also sustain a heavy laboring community; because cotton can be harvested only with hand-labor. Machinery cannot be adapted to this work. If the mass of this labor is to continue to be supplied from the thriftless negro race, their education, government, and wastage will present questions that a farmers' alliance might deal with in most solemn deliberation. The politicians of all parties will, after a while, annoy the farmers with constant disputes with their laborers, in their efforts to gain the votes of the negro race by interfering with them. In such disputes, the men who instituted negro alliances and the Ocala platform will become "a thorn in the flesh" of the cotton-growers. We shall need farmers' alliances in the South, composed of the best men, and they will need all the wisdom they may possess to deal justly and discreetly with problems like these, of which there are many that seem to rise to present observation.

There was great hope and encouragement for the Southern agri-

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culturist in the Farmers' Alliance as it was originally established. If intruders who have entered it to exploit their personal politics are thrust out, and their vagaries discarded, the Farmers' Alliance will be, next to good government, the best, truest, and safest guardian of the interests of Southern agriculturists, and will have the earnest support of all good men. It will be a benefaction to the South. In the past, it can be truly said of the Southern agriculturists, that no body of men and women ever excelled them in the higher and nobler qualities and aims of society or government. Their history is an unbroken record of integrity, high aspirations, and benevolent action. Courage, faith, sincerity, justice, frugality, and religion have marked this class of people as the repository of the most sacred trusts, through the providence of God, that have ever been in human keeping. They cannot become untrue to their noble mission, in which they have never faltered. If the Farmers' Alliance is moth-eaten, so that "the chord that binds" that brotherhood together is loosened, no patriot who loves the South can fail to regret its decadence, or to despise the politicians who will destroy it.

Where the Appalachian ranges begin to break down to the sea, on the east and the south, and clear out to the coast, there is found—in the richness, variety, and certainty of crops, and in the magnificence of the forests, and in the purity and abundance of waters, the excellence of climate, and the soft beauty of scenery—the most favored home of the farmer, and the greatest treasury of the miner. In that region, their interests, next to those of justice and good government, are paramount, and engage the warmest sympathy of every honest and thoughtful man.

Good government, based on the written Constitutions, State and Federal, and conducted, under such limitations, upon the principles of wise, just, and steadfast political economy, has been the most earnest desire of the farmers and planters of the South.

A careful study of the tenets of the Democratic party, and its practices and policies when it has had the control of the government, has taught them that their material prosperity and social order depend largely upon the success of that party. In this they are unselfish, when the temptations to a different course, and the opportunity to follow it, have been constantly present. They are opposed to class legislation, because it is destructive to the theory of our governments, State and Federal; yet they could easily combine, and make good their demands for class benefits (as the negroes are demanding race

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advantages in legislation), by forming a balance-of-power party to stand between the rival interests of the Eastern and Western States. For the same reason they stand opposed to the unjust discriminations of tariff laws that are enacted to confer bounties upon capital employed in manufactures. Yet with cotton, iron, coal, and wood at their doors, and cheaper than they are or can be elsewhere in the world, they could make more money than any other people could out of unjust subsidies, wrung by unjust taxation, from the other industries of the country.

For like reasons, they oppose the destruction of silver money, because it is the right of the people under the Constitution to have it, and because it is the favorite and most faithful friend of the laboring-man. Yet they grow crops that always command gold, and never fail to find a cash market. They are in full sympathy with the principle and sentiment of all our governments, State and Federal,—of equal justice to all men, and exclusive privileges to none. It would be as easy to supplant the Christian faith in their hearts with the mysterious follies of Theosophy, as it would be to substitute a "Third Party" as the organization to which they would give their support, when it advocates "fiat money" and class legislation.

Such efforts agitate, but they do not unsettle, the deep-rooted convictions of Southern farmers, that the creed of the Democratic party is the true interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, of the rights of the States and the liberties of the people, and that it is a rock of defence in every time of trouble. It will be a sin against civilization, if prejudice and demagogy shall be permitted, even for a time, to cloud the prospects of the brightening future that is already glowing upon the agriculture of the South.

JOHN T. MORGAN.

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COMMERCIAL FUTURE OF THE PACIFIC STATES.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, who was as brilliant a statesman as we ever produced, made the prediction that the Pacific Ocean will be the scene of man's greatest achievements. If wisdom govern the councils of the Republic, our Pacific coast will become the main factor in these achievements; for the cities of that coast are the outports of the world's commerce. To reach Asiatic seaports, their vessels must cross the largest ocean on the globe. To reach the markets of our Atlantic seacoast and of Europe, they must make the longest sea-voyage known to navigators,—twice across the equator, and around the Cape. Such development as has been made since the American occupation, notwithstanding these great distances, is due to the energy of our people, and is but a promise of the future, when the dominant problem of cheap transportation shall have been solved by the completion of an inter-oceanic canal.

The Pacific coast has no such rigorous climate as the North Atlantic seaboard. Even on the Alaskan coast and the Aleutian Islands there is no such extremely cold and tempestuous weather. In the Pacific, too, as in the Atlantic, "there is a river in the ocean." The drift of the Japan current, together with that borne by south-west winds from equatorial regions, impinges upon the Pacific coast in a high northern latitude, moderates the rigors of what would be without it an arctic winter on the coast, and creates a precipitation that is at times excessive. It is no doubt due to this rainfall that the north-west coast is so heavily timbered. Assimilating with the warmer waters of the Pacific as this current advances in its southern course, it modifies the rainfall, until, on the coast of California and farther south, the precipitation is controlled by other causes, and is greatly lessened.

Let us point out briefly what part this section of our Republic may play in establishing our supremacy in the commerce of the world. The timber-lands of this region are the finest on the globe, and will become available when our eastern seacoast and Europe are denuded. The California redwood has for many purposes no equal in any timber known to commerce; the white cedar of Oregon is exceedingly beauti-

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ful; and the sugar pine and the Oregon pine are unexcelled in general usefulness. Other kinds of timber, too, are abundant. The fisheries of the Pacific coast are practically inexhaustible; but they are yet hardly known to commerce, except in a pioneer way. The examination now being made of these regions by the United States steamship "Albatross" has already shown the promise of a great industry, which will give a future school for American seamanship and adventure, and be a prolific source of wealth to the Republic. The soil is fertile where the country is not mountainous; and the mountain-ranges are rich in minerals. It is true that in the southern part of California, irrigation is a necessity; but the lands produce wonderfully when water is applied, and they are now sold for higher prices than any lands on the coast; and these prices are based on their productiveness. While the products of Oregon, Washington, and Alaska, are more akin to those of our Eastern States, California is becoming the Italy of North America. The cereal crops of the northern Pacific States will in California find competitors in horticulture and viticulture fully equal to them in value. The value of the wheat-crop, for the half-decade from 1885 to 1889 inclusive, of the seven States and Territories of the Pacific coast, was $211,344,886; the value of the gold and silver product for the same period was $213,536,621; and the value of the fruit product for 1889 was $16,000,000.

The comparatively slow development of this region so favored by nature is due to the inadequacy of transportation; and in the solution of this problem of transportation the Pacific coast must find its future prosperity. When ox-teams across the continent, and sailing-ships around Cape Horn, were the sole methods of transportation from our Eastern States and from Europe, we felt that we were living out of the great world of commerce and the arts; nor are we in much better plight now. Three thousand miles of travel by rail separate us from our great centres of finance and commerce, and the limitations of that railway transportation are serious. Railways, of course, are necessary, and to them we are indebted for such development as we have made. They give a means of rapid transit for mails, passengers, and such freight as they can carry with profit to the owners; but in transportation by water—whose cost, in comparison with that of railway transportation, is as one to five—lies the solution of the prosperity of the Pacific coast, which already produces far in excess of the demands of the home market. It is useless to bring hither the most desirable immigrants until this great problem is solved.

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For this reason the people of the Pacific coast have always taken a profound interest in the Nicaragua Canal. The Legislatures of California, of Oregon, of Washington, and of Nevada, have filed in the State Department in Washington joint resolutions urging upon Congress such wise and conservative legislation as will secure an American inter-oceanic canal under the control of our government jointly with the Nicaraguan government. In 1883 Senator Newton Booth of California made an eloquent appeal to Congress on behalf of this great work, and later Senator John F. Miller of California, and Senator Joseph N. Dolph of Oregon, labored earnestly for the same purpose; and not a commercial organization from Puget Sound to San Diego failed repeatedly to petition Congress to take favorable action in the matter. Recognizing the magnitude of the beneficent enterprise, and with a patriotic regard for the preponderating influence properly appertaining to our government in a water-way through the American isthmus, our people have desired government control for this work, for the reason that, with a government guaranty, speedy construction is assured, moderate tolls may be relied upon, and international difficulties may be avoided. But, with or without governmental control, they look upon the Nicaragua Canal as a solution of the problem of the growth and prosperity of the Pacific coast. Let us see what they may properly expect from its completion.

So far as railway traffic is concerned, while its value is fully appreciated, it is apparent, that, as railway terminals, the cities of the Pacific coast occupy the most disadvantageous positions in the country; for they are at the western end of a long haul. These seaboard cities must depend upon their maritime commerce for prosperity. The canal will immensely develop the maritime commerce of the Pacific coast, and, as the interior is settled, then additional railway terminals will be established, all having advantage over the seaports in transportation from our commercial and industrial centres in the Eastern States.

In the movement of one year's wheat-crop of the Pacific coast, $5,000,000 to $7,000,000 will be saved in freight, insurance, and interest; and the onerous expense of sacking, amounting to about $1.25 per ton, will be saved to the producer; for, through the canal, grain may be as safely carried in bulk as it is carried across the Atlantic. The wheat-crop of the Pacific coast will increase greatly in the future, although in California it is probable that much land that is now used for wheat will be diverted to horticulture. But in the States farther

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north, wheat will continue to be the leading product. Its quality is the finest in the world; and the soil of northern and central California, of Oregon, and of Washington, is especially adapted to its growth. The wheat of the Pacific coast is used in Europe for admixture with European wheat, to which it is considered superior in dryness and color, while it is equal to European wheat in flavor.

Having in view the fact that horticulture is to be one of the leading Pacific industries, it is of importance to note that the Nicaragua Canal will solve the question of a market, and make over-production an impossibility. For many years, frozen meats have been successfully landed in Europe from New Zealand, Australia, and the Argentine Republic, in refrigerator steamships. This service requires a steady and dry artificial temperature of 25° to 26° Fahr. The transportation of fruits, vegetables, and all other products of the orchard and of the farm, requires a dry temperature of only 36° to 38° Fahr. With the aid of the refrigerator steamers, the markets of northern Europe can be supplied with these products from the Pacific coast in twenty-five days, at a time of the year when those markets are now unsupplied. Under such conditions, over-production need not be considered. The timber-lands of the Pacific coast have been already alluded to. Even now, under disadvantageous conditions of transportation, occasional cargoes are sent to our eastern seaboard and to Europe. As soon as the canal is open, the lumber-trade of the Pacific coast will receive an enormous impetus. Europe and the Atlantic States are comparatively denuded of timber, and will draw on these forests for their main supply. The fisheries, too, will then be open to our Atlantic fishermen. When cargoes can pass through the canal unbroken in bulk, and at cheap freight-rates, or in the same vessel that made the catch, our fisheries will increase enormously. The ocean carrying-trade which will use the canal will be of immense importance and profit to the Pacific coast, as well as to our entire country. Maritime commerce develops a hardy, brave, and vigorous people, patriotic, and ready to defend the flag on every sea; and the industry of shipbuilders will receive a great impetus: in fact, new shipyards will be necessary to meet the increasing demand for ocean carriers, even between home ports. The canal will create a mercantile steam navy, and restore the American flag to the ocean.

Of almost equal importance will be the material development of Central America on the Pacific side, especially of Nicaragua, which is one of the garden-spots of the world. With a canal connecting Lakes

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Managua and Nicaragua, and with railways as feeders to the cheap transportation made available by the use of these internal water-ways, Nicaragua will become the theatre of a commerce worthy of its situation on the world's great highway. In this prosperity the American Pacific cities must of course share by the interchange of products always in demand in both countries.

It is a geographical fact, perhaps little known, that the shortest route from the ports of China and Japan to the Nicaragua Canal passes within 180 miles of San Francisco, and still nearer to San Diego. Consequently, all steamships in this great trade to the eastern coasts of North and South America will make our Pacific coast cities ports of call for coaling, and for discharging and taking up cargoes. This is a fact of great significance, tending to cheapen freights both eastward and westward.

Such benefits as may be expected from Asiatic commerce will naturally, under existent favorable geographical conditions, inure largely to our Pacific coast. This commerce is increasing very slowly; all the more slowly for the reason that we welcome Asiatic merchandise, but do not welcome Asiatic population. But it is my impression that the value of modern Asiatic commerce has been generally exaggerated. It is true that the future may make great changes even in China; but we have had a hard experience in building up a trade in the "Flowery Kingdom" for American products. There is no prejudice like the prejudice of the stomach, and the Chinese will prefer rice as an article of diet to our flour, even if the latter be the cheaper. Japan, with a much smaller population than China, will soon offer us a better field for the exchange of products than her larger neighbor. The Japanese are very friendly with our people, and are generally anxious to adopt Western civilization. They are, too, a braver and more independent people than the Chinese. When they immigrate to this country, they adopt our dress and our habits. Thus far we have had very few Japanese in the United States except from the lower classes; but they may be seen any day in our streets, dressed in European costume, generally quiet, unobtrusive, and industrious. Japan furnishes the world mainly with the same kinds of merchandise as China; the Japanese government is anxious for friendly relations with the United States, and is willing to promote commercial intercourse. Our commerce with Japan, therefore, has a more promising future than our commerce with China. There are those who expect a great change in the Chinese policy; but the slight-

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est impression made by Western civilization and commerce at the treaty ports finds no support in the vast interior of the most populous of all nations. A change in Chinese policy may come, but it will not be in our day and generation.

The opportunities for a profitable commerce with Australia and New Zealand are abundantly proved by what has been already done with our limited methods of communication and steam transportation. These are new and growing countries, inhabited by an English-speaking people with a free government. They are to play a great part in Pacific Ocean commerce; and if our government will connect our continent and theirs by cable, *via* Honolulu and Samoa, and pay a reasonable compensation for the transportation of ocean mails in first-class American steamships, the development of commerce in this direction will be remarkable, and Pacific coast ports, as well as the whole country, will be greatly benefited thereby.

The islands of the Pacific have a future of commercial importance. The Hawaiian Islands are already very desirable customers for our products. But the further growth of commerce in this direction will be slow, and is not to be compared with that of our nearer neighbors in Mexico, Central America, and South America.

We have suffered thus far from a scant supply of cheap and good coal, although we have an abundant supply of coal of the second grade. Owing, however, to the high price of labor and to the cost of transportation, coal is comparatively high throughout the Pacific coast States and Territories. The immunity from severe winters renders the people less dependent on fuel than in other sections; but we feel the want of cheap coal in manufacturing. Our nearest point of supply for the best quality of coal is British Columbia, and it is a suggestive fact that this supply is in that part of British Columbia which would have been American territory, had the boundary line been carried directly west to the Pacific Ocean, instead of in mid-channel through the Straits of San Juan de Fuca. Doubtless, however, new discoveries await the prospector, and cheaper transportation will aid in the solution of this problem.

That the Pacific coast is to be a great factor in the commercial supremacy of the United States is therefore apparent to any close observer who knows its great resources. There are three conditions of rapid and successful development, which may be thus stated:—

First, A rigid exclusion of Mongolian immigration.

Second, The encouragement of a desirable Caucasian immigration,

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as far as practicable of our own people, from the States east of the Rocky Mountains.

Third, The construction of the Nicaragua Canal at as early a date as possible, to give us a cheap and short transportation route, under our control, which shall supplement the work of the present and future railway systems to reach the Pacific.

A rapid development of wealth, industry, and population, without the canal, is an impossibility. Until that is completed, we must be content with such comparatively slow growth as expensive transportation necessitates. In the councils of the nation we have little voice, because we have few votes. Our interests have too frequently failed to receive from Congress the consideration that they deserve. But with the opening of the Nicaragua Canal the Pacific will become the theatre of our future achievements, and the American flag shall go afloat once more; for it has surely been an erroneous policy that has permitted the decadence of our ocean carrying-trade. Writing in view of the Golden Gate, I can already see the truth of Mr. Seward's prediction. Some idea of the ultimate development, the beginning of which has just been made, may be illustrated by the following comparisons between the group of Pacific States, viz., California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, and the Territories of Arizona and Utah, and the group of Atlantic States, viz., the New England States, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

	Pacific Group.	Atlantic Group.
Area in square miles	743,060	182,912
Population in 1890	1,829,950	18,607,000

The Pacific group, therefore, has more than four times the area of the Atlantic group, and if it were populated proportionately would have 75,000,000 people.

New York City in 1840 had a population of 312,000, approximately that of San Francisco in 1891. The State of New York the same year had a population of 2,428,921. Compared with the Eastern States above named, with a proportionate trade based on our imports and exports, the Pacific States and Territories will have a trade of $2,000,000,000 annually when we reach a proportionate population, while our manufactures will be worth nearly $6,000,000,000 annually.

It needs only wise legislation and the energy of our people to develop here a maritime commerce that shall place the United States

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first in rank of commercial nations. These figures carry with them the conviction that this coast is in itself an empire with a glorious future, worthy of the consideration and fostering care of our government, and giving promise of a literal fulfilment of the most sanguine predictions. It is a section of the Republic of which Americans may be justly proud; and, instead of going to Europe, they may well, with patriotic intent, turn their steps westward until they can see through the Golden Gate the sunset in the great Pacific. Then will they realize, as men otherwise do not realize, that our country spans the continent.

WILLIAM L. MERRY.

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ESTIMATES OF NEW BOOKS.

HISTORY AND POLITICS.—Herbert Spencer has been admonished by failing health to depart from the logical order of producing the parts of his Synthetic Philosophy, and complete the volume on *Justice* (Appleton), which he considers the most important of the volumes dealing with the Principles of Ethics. Following his accustomed method, he begins with a brief discussion of animal ethics, and traces the evolution of the idea of human justice. From the individual idea of justice, he rises to a discussion of the rights of man, all of which he formulates in the supreme law of "equal freedom." In the light of this law he considers the duties of the State and their limitations. The conclusion reached is that society in its corporate capacity (the State) has "no power which may properly prescribe the form which individual life shall assume."——In the second and revised edition of John Rae's *Contemporary Socialism* (Scribner) is a complete summary of those modern movements which (under the name of freedom) are really aimed at overthrowing that individual life and responsibility which Mr. Spencer has shown to be necessary for justice between man and man. The most valuable addition to the volume is the chapter on State Socialism, which is an epitome of the socialistic schemes which have been taken up by the government in Germany, and to some extent in Great Britain, in opposition to the school of economists who are believers in *laissez-faire*.——Midway between Mr. Spencer's doctrine of *laissez-faire* and the extreme of state interference proposed by Mr. George and other state socialists, is the theory advanced by Slack Worthington, in *Politics and Property, or Phronocracy* (Putnam). The author advocates, as a reasonable compromise between plutocracy and socialism, a cumulative tax on property, which should in effect limit the estate of one man to a million dollars. When his property exceeds that sum, the tax collected by the general government would practically equal the income, so that there would be no further accumulation possible. The writer also advocates a property and educational qualification for the elective franchise. ——Henry Sidgwick, the eminent English economist and philosopher, has compressed into one volume, *The Elements of Politics* (Macmillan), a systematic exposition of "the chief general considerations that enter into the rational discussion of political questions in modern states." He has accomplished what no English writer since Bentham has attempted,—the consideration, in one treatise, of questions that are generally discussed in separate volumes on Sociology, Political Economy, Civil Government, and International Law.——Edward Percy Jacobsen has made an English translation of Charles Gide's *Principles of Political Economy* (Heath & Co.),—a treatise well known in France since 1883. The author avows his aim of reaching practical men who wish to form opinions for themselves on economic and social questions. For this reason he has not hesitated to present fully both

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sides of a question which may be fairly considered doubtful. When he considers the truth beyond controversy, he gives a positive judgment in its favor.——To provide young students and general readers with a handbook summarizing the progress of nations from the beginning of the Christian era to the present day, a free adaptation has been made in English of M. Gustave Ducoudray's *History of Modern Civilization* (Appleton). This very broad field is rapidly covered, somewhat after the manner of a textbook, with a few indifferent illustrations.——The fourth volume of Heinrich von Sybel's elaborate historical work, on *The Founding of the German Empire by William I.* (Crowell), has appeared in the translation made by M. L. Perrin and Gamaliel Bradford, jun. The period covered is that critical time which culminated in the war of 1866 between Prussia and Austria. The Gastein Treaty, the Prusso-Italian Alliance, and the intrigues of Napoleon, are the most significant events described in this volume, which is based on Prussian state documents.——A good companion volume is the revised edition of *A Short History of German Literature* (Scribner), by Professor James K. Hosmer, which sketches the rise and present condition of German letters,—from Karl the Great to Mommsen.——Another new edition of a standard work is *The Life and Times of Niccolo Machiavelli* (Scribner), by Professor Pasquale Villari, translated by Madame Villari. The first translation, published in 1878-83, was very much abridged; but the present one restores all the more important documents, and adds some newly discovered private correspondence, written by Machiavelli when Secretary to the Republic.——In the series on "Heroes of the Nations," Thomas Hodgkin has written a compact, popular volume on *Theodoric the Goth* (Putnam). He writes in admiration of Theodoric, whom he considers the Barbarian forerunner of civilization, whose reign was "full of promise for Italy and the world," if only the seeds might have had time to germinate, and ripen into harvest.—— The *Historical Essays* (Scribner) of Henry Adams were, with few exceptions, written twenty years ago, and range from a light and sportive account of John Quincy Adams's career at Harvard in 1786-87 to a most dramatic narrative of "The New York Gold Conspiracy," in which Gould and Fisk were the moving figures.

ESSAYS.—Mrs. Alice Morse Earle has made a charming book about *The Sabbath in Puritan New England* (Scribner),—a subject that might have been forbidding in the hands of a pietist, or painful if assailed by a scoffer. Mrs. Earle sympathizes with the motives which controlled the Puritan Sabbath, and laughs gently at its eccentricities and severities. She has collected a vast amount of antiquarian lore, and has vivified it with her alert and modern spirit. It has the color which Mr. Bynner might put in a romance of the period.——The author of "How to be Happy though Married" has written another book, for married or single, on *The Business of Life* (Scribner); his aim being to make his readers "feel that it is altogether a serious thing to be alive." With his eye on the proper attitude for a "popular essayist," and with an avowed apprehension that, being a minister, he may be suspected of writing sermons, the author has not treated his grave subjects too seriously. They are rather in the manner of "Lenten talks" at week-day services, and are good preparation for afternoon teas.——Religion is far more intrusive in the Rev. John R. Miller's essays on *Making the Most of Life* (Crowell). He also would inculcate that "the gift of life is a solemn thing,"

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but goes farther, and preaches persistent "self-renunciation and self-sacrifice, leaving small space for play." From his point of view, even Lenten teas would be considered harmful.——The seventh volume of Henry Morley's *English Writers* (Cassell) covers the history of English literature from Caxton to Coverdale. The broad scale on which this work is constructed makes easily accessible to the general reader interesting facts about minor writers which have heretofore been known only to special students of early English literature.——Professor Barrett Wendell's eight lectures on *English Composition* (Scribner) are a study of style with reference to its three significant qualities, —clearness, force, elegance. Professor Wendell summarizes his thesis epigrammatically as follows: "The secret of Clearness lies in denotation; the secret of Force lies in connotation; the secret of Elegance lies in adaptation."——The second edition of Dr. Henry van Dyke's pleasant essays on *The Poetry of Tennyson* (Scribner) contains new chapters on the poet's latest verses, and a general survey and review of his works, with additions to the chronology which make it a complete bibliography.

TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION.—The special delight of Ménie Muriel Dowie's clever book, *A Girl in the Karpathians* (Cassell), is that you see a strange country and odd people through the eyes of a bright young woman who really enjoyed the adventures, and took the hardships as a joke, because she was doing what she wanted to do in her own way. There is perhaps a little too much in it of "swagger" (as Mr. Howells takes a severe delight in calling assertiveness); but it is more just to call it youth and health and good spirits.——*Home Life on an Ostrich Farm* (Appleton), by Annie Martin, may also be classed with those books which are the product of healthy-minded women, who take to roughing it with the same delight as a vigorous boy. It is realistic, minute, and wholly attractive, without pretence. In all these respects it is in pleasing contrast to the morbid "Story of an African Farm."——W. Fraser Rae's book on *The Business of Travel* is the history of the origin and fifty-years' growth of the business of Thomas Cook & Son. Although the book is primarily the advertisement of a successful firm, it is nevertheless a most interesting record of a novel scheme for the diffusion of knowledge of the world by travel.——The authoritative record of the great work of Dr. Schliemann must always be the elaborate volumes in which he published his discoveries. But for those who want a good general idea of his total work, Dr. C. Schuchhardt's single volume, entitled *Schliemann's Excavations* (Macmillan), is a concise and excellent book. It had the approval of Dr. Schliemann, and contains a selection from the illustrations in his books. The English translation is by Eugénie Sellers, of the British school of Archæology at Athens.

EDUCATIONAL.—Tryon Edwards, D.D., has compiled an octavo volume entitled *A Dictionary of Thoughts* (Cassell), in which, under an alphabetically arranged list of subjects, are gathered what the author calls "the condensed and striking thoughts of the world's best thinkers." Among them he is good enough to include Andrew Carnegie, T. De Witt Talmage, and Tryon Edwards, D.D.——Two volumes have been issued in the series of "University-Extension Manuals," edited by Professor Knight (published in America by Scribners). W. Cunningham, D.D., writes of *The Use and Abuse of Money*, treating of economic questions from the standpoint of one who believes that

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each of the conflicting doctrines has an element of truth within certain limits. The author endeavors to find the human element in all economic questions. G. Baldwin Brown writes of *The Fine Arts*, with the intention of presenting in a simple manner "some of the more important facts and laws of artistic production which should be familiar alike to the historical student of art and to the practical worker." This volume deals with architecture, sculpture, and painting: the industrial arts will form the subject of another manual. ——Cardinal Newman's notable essay on *Poetry* has been published in a small volume (Ginn), with an introduction and notes prepared with special reference to using the book in a class-room study of the general subject of poetry.——The elementary *Principles of Agriculture* (American Book Co.) have been condensed into a primer of a hundred and fifty pages, for the use of pupils of twelve or fourteen years.——Florence A. Fowle Adams has written a handbook of practical training in *Gesture and Pantomimic Action* (Werner), illustrated from many photographs of the author's expression, attitude, and gesture when interpreting certain thoughts or emotions.

FICTION.—The marvellous thing about F. Marion Crawford is his versatility. Seldom does he write two successive novels with a similar background or in a similar manner. His theme and treatment suggest the experiences of a new writer for every new novel. Of course the permanent characteristic of him is his style,—romantic, fluent, picturesque, and always interesting. This saves his fantastic tale, *The Witch of Prague* (Macmillan), when his wonderful invention fails. Nothing that he has written before (even "Khaled" or "Zoroaster") is quite so esoteric as this strange admixture of philosophy, pathology, and romance.——The fifth volume of the English edition of Ibsen's collected dramas (which is edited by William Archer) contains *Rosmersholm*, *The Lady from the Sea*, and *Hedda Gabler* (Scribner). The second of these is in a lighter vein than most of Ibsen's plays, though the shadow of an impending catastrophe is always apparent. The unusual thing for Ibsen is that at the last the catastrophe is averted, and the play ends happily. Even in his most gloomy plays, the sympathetic reader will detect that, with all his fatalism, Ibsen is something of an optimist; for he clearly points the way to possible happiness by one or two minor characters.—— Henry Arthur Jones, the English dramatist, has published his successful play, *Saints and Sinners* (Macmillan), with an introductory plea for a finer literary quality in the contemporary drama. Mr. Jones's own play stands the test fairly well as to correctness, restraint, and construction; but on the human side it is painfully artificial.——*The Mammon of Unrighteousness* (Lovell), by H. H. Boyesen, is the painstaking effort of an effective romantic novelist to follow the method of the realists. It is successful in its portraiture of an American lawyer who lives in a provincial city in western New York, and early in life decides to win political preferment by any means which are at hand. Other characters—the heiress, the New York society woman, and the founder of a university—are well conceived, but lack definiteness.—— Among recent translations of noteworthy fiction are Balzac's *An Historical Mystery* (Roberts), in Miss Wormeley's excellent version; *The Cruel City* (Cassell), from the Russian of Grigorovitch; and *A Russian Priest* (Cassell), translated by W. Gaussen.

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WRITERS AND SUBJECTS IN THE NOVEMBER FORUM.

Dangers to the Peace of Europe.

PROFESSOR EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.

EDWARD AUGUSTUS FREEMAN, the English historian, was born in Staffordshire in 1823. He was educated at Oxford, where he gained a fellowship, and first became known as a student of mediæval architecture, but soon afterward rose to eminence as an historian. Among his works are a "History of Architecture," a "History of Federal Government," a "History of the Norman Conquest," "History and Conquests of the Saracens," three volumes of "Historical Sketches," and "Impressions of the United States," written after a visit to this country in 1883, during which he lectured in the chief cities. He has just completed a "History of Sicily."

The Armed Truce of the Powers.

WILLIAM R. THAYER.

Mr. WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER was born in Boston, Mass., in 1859, and was graduated at Harvard in 1881. He was an editorial writer on the Philadelphia "Evening Bulletin" till 1885, and in 1888-89 served as an instructor at Harvard. He is the author of "Confessions of Hermes, and Other Poems;" "Hester; a Drama;" and "Historical Sketch of Harvard University."

The Degradation of Pennsylvania Politics. HERBERT WELSH.

Mr. HERBERT WELSH was born in Philadelphia, December 4, 1851. He is a son of the late John Welsh, who was minister to the Court of St. James under President Hayes. He was graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1871, and studied art in Paris, but gave up its pursuit to devote himself to the defence of the rights of the Indians. He is secretary of the Indian Rights Association, and has travelled widely and spoken frequently in public in the course of his work. During the last few years he has been active, too, as an Independent in movements for political reform, especially in Pennsylvania.

Regulation of the Lobby in Massachusetts. JOSIAH QUINCY.

Mr. JOSIAH QUINCY, sixth in direct descent to bear that name, was graduated at Harvard in 1880, and was admitted to the bar in 1884, but has not practised law, his tastes leading him into politics. He is an active friend of civil service reform in Massachusetts, and was prominent in the Independent movement in 1884, since which time he has been a Democrat. He has served four terms in the Legislature, and is now the acknowledged leader of his party in the House. As chairman of the executive committee of the Democratic State Committee, he is in active charge of the Democratic campaign in his State this year.

English University Life for Women.

ANNE J. CLOUGH.

Miss ANNE J. CLOUGH, a sister of the poet Arthur Hugh Clough, is principal of Newnham College, Cambridge, Eng., an institution for the higher education of women, whose connection with the University of Cambridge resembles somewhat the connection of the "Annex" with Harvard University.

The Death of Polygamy in Utah.

JUDGE CHARLES S. ZANE.

CHARLES S. ZANE, chief justice of the Supreme Court of Utah, was born in New Jersey about 1830. He removed to Illinois, was graduated at McKendree College, and became a lawyer in Springfield. He was a judge of the Illinois Circuit Court for some time, and was appointed to his present post in 1884. Soon afterwards he became widely known because he presided at the trials of offenders against the Edmunds anti-polygamy law. He was removed by President Cleveland in 1888, but re-appointed by President Harrison in the following year.

The Profit of Good Country Roads.

ISAAC B. POTTER.

Mr. ISAAC B. POTTER was born at West Troy, N.Y., in 1854, and was graduated at Cornell as a civil engineer in 1873. After practising his profession for several years, he was admitted to the bar in 1879, and has since been a member of the law firm of Porter and Potter in New York. He is chairman of the National Committee on Improvement of Highways, of the League of American Wheelmen, and the author of "The Gospel of Good Roads," and other tracts on this subject.

American Shipbuilding and Commercial Supremacy. C. H. CRAMP.

Mr. CHARLES H. CRAMP is the president of the William Cramp & Sons Ship and Engine Building Company of Philadelphia, which has built and is building so many of the new war-ships for the United States navy.

The Danger of the Farmers' Alliance. SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN.

Senator JOHN TYLER MORGAN was born in Athens, Tenn., June 20, 1824. His parents removed in 1833 to Alabama, where he studied and practised law. He was a presidential elector on the Breckinridge ticket in 1860, a member of the Secession Convention in 1861, and he served through the civil war, rising to the rank of brigadier-general in the Confederate service. He has been a United States senator from Alabama since 1876, and is regarded as one of the ablest Democratic members of the upper house.

Commercial Future of the Pacific States. WILLIAM L. MERRY.

Captain WILLIAM L. MERRY, who for several terms of office has been president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, has made a special study of the development of the commerce of the Pacific coast both of the United States and of Central America.

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